A Critical History of Taiwanese Independent Documentary

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Abstract

This thesis is the first history of Taiwanese independent documentary. It asks what independent documentary (*dulijilupian*) is in Taiwan and how it changes in different historical periods. To address the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary and pursue the connection between social and political circumstances and independent documentary production in Taiwan, the thesis relies on primary data collection and archival documents to write a chronological and analytical history. It argues that independent documentary in Taiwan should be periodised according to changes in the in the mode of production, which are related to changes in the social and political environment. Deploying this approach based on mode of production and socio-political environment, the thesis divides the history of independent documentary production in Taiwan into four periods. First, the independent documentary making originated primarily as a vehicle against government-controlled media and in order to reveal alternative points of view during the political movements of the 1980s. Thus, independent documentary is a form for participating in political movements in this period. Second, the period after the cessation of Taiwan's martial law (1987) saw independent documentarians shift their focus from political and social movements and towards social issues. Here, the independent documentary revealed the problems of the socially marginalized, which had been ignored by mainstream media. It participated in the idea of Community Development, which was a major topic from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s. Third, after the mid-1990s, the decline of the Taiwanese feature film industry drove filmmakers, especially members of the post-New Taiwan Cinema young generation, to turn to digital video and make low-budget documentaries independently. Their approach placed art as a higher priority than social and political engagement. Fourth, since the early 2000s, independent documentary making has also become a way for expressing identities. For instance, filmmakers who used to be the filmed subjects of documentaries, such as Taiwanese indigenous peoples, foreign spouses, or other marginalized groups in society, have used independent documentary to express their cultural and social identities from their own viewpoints, and to claim equal rights.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is the first history of Taiwanese independent documentary film. It is written based on an analysis of the films and available written materials and documents, as well as new primary data that I have produced, mostly through extensive interviews with filmmakers. The main research question is: what is the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary and how has it changed and developed since its inception? I look at the sector based on the mode of production, including filming techniques, financing, and the production process, and also consider the relationship of mode production to social-political circumstances in Taiwan. In this chapter, I will, (a) explain the reasons why I started looking at issues around the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary; (b) discuss the definition of 'independent production (*dulizhizuo*)' in Taiwan in the context of the mode of production in terms of documentary film, and how that has affected the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary during different periods; (c) explain how I have used analytical methods to construct the history of Taiwanese independent documentary; and (d) introduce the structure of my thesis.

1.1 Prologue

In 2004, *Gift of Life* (*Shengming*), a Taiwanese independent documentary about the aftermath of a severe earthquake that hit central Taiwan in 1999, was released in cinemas. It broke the Taiwanese film box office record for domestic feature-length films, achieving the number one slot in the domestic market that year (Chang Jing-Bei 2005: 46). At that time, Taiwan's film industry was in decline, so the compelling achievement of *Gift of Life* propelled independent documentary production into public consciousness. This was a real turning point in the development of independent documentary production in Taiwan and gave a "kick start" to film in general.

However, although independent documentary-making has become a popular phenomenon in present day Taiwan, since the first non-fiction film *An Introduction to the Actual Taiwan* (*Taiwan Jikkyo Shokai*) was made in native Taiwan by Japanese filmmaker Takamatsu Toyojiro in 1907 (see Chapter 4), the definition of the documentary film has always been a controversial issue connected to the issue of how Taiwanese documentary in general engages with the unique social and political circumstances in Taiwan. Generally speaking, according to the existing literature, there has been a 'tradition of realism (*xieshizhuyi chuantong*)' in terms of Taiwanese documentary. The debates on the definition of documentary film in Taiwan have mainly adopted the Griersonian understanding. The controversies on the definition of documentary and their relation to the social-political background has made the development of Taiwanese documentary a peculiar instance within the global territory of documentary film. Before engaging with my research topic, the independent documentary in Taiwan, I briefly discuss the realist tradition of Taiwanese documentary in general, which has influenced Taiwanese documentary profoundly, and shaped the appearance and characteristics of contemporary Taiwanese documentary in general. More recently, it has facilitated the noticeable phenomenon of independent documentary-making in Taiwan.

Conventionally, the newsreels, political propaganda, educational films that constituted the major forms of non-fiction film in Taiwan, determined the understanding of what documentary (*jilupian*) was before the Golden Horse Award debate emerged in 1985. In an influential article called "What is Documentary?", Taiwanese documentary scholar Lee Daw-Ming has asserted that before 1985, the ideas of newsreel and political propaganda (which aim to promote the authorities' political policies and intentions) were dominant, under the influence of the practices of the Japanese colonial period and the film studios that moved with the KMT into exile from Mainland China in 1949 to Taiwan (Lee Daw-Ming 2006: 289, 291-292). These circumstances created a 'confused' and problematic definition of the documentary film in Taiwan before the 1980s. Lee indicates that, in the 1985 Golden Horse Awards (the most important film awards in Taiwan), the jury refused to pick any of the nominated documentaries, on the grounds that none of them were 'authentic', 'real', documentary films. The jury members mostly agreed that they were educational films, newsreels, and films for commercial purposes or political propaganda, and, from their perspective, therefore *not* documentary films. Lee

argues that before 1985, the general approach in the Golden Horse Awards was to treat the whole documentary film genre as producing films for educational, news release or political propaganda purposes. Even the Government Information Office (the government office in charge of permits for the theatrical release of films in Taiwan) often confused newsreels and political propaganda with the documentary film. In addition, films that had actually qualified as documentaries for the Golden Horse Awards had sometimes been denied eligibility for international awards (ibid., 285).

Therefore, for the documentary film, in Taiwan, Lee argues that images and sounds must fundamentally originate from the film location, if documentaries are to successfully convey reality. Thus, Lee suggests that it was the development of Electronic News Gathering (ENG) and specifically S-VHS camcorders that brought new possibilities, and were rapidly adopted by people participating in directly political movements in the 1980s to record and spread information that could not be broadcast on state-controlled television channels. Subsequently, the concept of the documentary film in Taiwan became shaped by documentaries made by filmmakers concerned with social-political issues (Lee Daw-Ming 2006: 73)[1]. According to the account above, in terms of the definition of documentary film, the Griersonian concept of 'the creative treatment of actuality' (Grierson 1933: 8), was broadly accepted by documentarians in Taiwan.

This broad acceptance of the Griersonian concept has led to realism (*xieshizhuyi*) becoming the dominant convention in Taiwanese documentary. Griersonian documentary has dominated Taiwanese documentary in terms of both form and reception for a long time. The video-documentaries that emerged and broke through government control of the media in the late 1980s, such as those of the Green Team (see Chapter 5), became a kind of prototype of the so called "authentic" documentary in contrast to the government political propaganda. With hand-held camerawork, sync-sound recording on location and an oppositional viewpoint, Green Team video-documentaries were seen as reflecting the reality of the political events. In achieving credibility as reflecting the 'truth', the Green

[1] My research indicates that no documentary film was ever mentioned as an independent documentary in the written literature before the 1980s. Heavy state control of film studios and television stations made independent documentary production relatively rare before the 1980s, apart from the 'exceptional' examples of, *Liu Bi-Chia* (1966) and Zhuang Ling's work, which I will detail in Chapter 5.

Team managed to do what the government-controlled media could not. Therefore, this form of realism gradually became the essential characteristic defining documentary film in Taiwan from then on (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 72-3). In 2002, when the Taiwan International Documentary Festival (TIDF)[2] was launched in Taipei, the variety of the films, which included documentaries containing docudrama and reconstruction, generated debate between the audience and filmmakers about whether those films were documentary films or not, and whether documentary film could be made using those approaches (ibid., 74). This example underlines the long-term reliance on a Grierson-derived model of realism in documentary among Taiwanese filmmakers and audiences.

Full Shot Studio (*Quanjing Yingxiang Gongzuoshi*) is another example of Taiwanese reliance on the tradition of realism in documentary-making (see Chapter 6). Taiwanese film scholar Li Yong-Quan claims that Full Shot Studio, 'is the most profound for shaping the development of Taiwanese documentary in general' (Li Yong-Quan 2007: 60). Full Shot Studio documentaries stressed documentary-making using long-term observation and participation with the filmed subjects at the shooting locations. The approach aimed to reveal the reality that filmmakers observed at the location. Full Shot Studio's approach established a paradigm of documentary-making in the 1990s (Lin Cong-Yu 2006).

In the mid-1990s, the establishment of the Graduate Institute of Sound and Image Studies in Documentary at Tainan National College of the Arts (TNCA) led to other debates about the definition of documentary film and its form. Some of the students and alumni of TNCA used newly introduced digital filmmaking facilities for making documentary independently as a form of cinematic creativity, instead of merely reflecting reality in the conventional sense. This behaviour led to a controversial debate on the campus and attracted challenges from other filmmakers (see Chapter 7). It can be seen as a rebellion against the realist tradition. At that moment, through the debates and the documentary-making practice, the definition of documentary film in Taiwan became broader than ever before, but, as these challenges to innovation indicate, they still had their difficulties throwing off entirely the Grierson-derived concept of realism. To a certain degree, the documentary film in Taiwan continues to be seen as the representation of actuality

[2] Regarding the impact of Taiwan International Documentary Festival for the development of Taiwanese independent documentary, please see Chapter 7.

rather than a form of 'filmic creation' (which is still seen primarily as referring to the concept of fiction film).

Distinguishing her approach from the Griersonian concept, Stella Bruzzi (2006) argues that documentary is a performative act, 'inherently fluid and unstable and informed by issues of performance and performativity' (Bruzzi 2006: 1). She demonstrates the importance of performativity in relation to documentary and the definition of documentary film. From docuauteurs to reality television or historical documentary that uses reconstruction, use of drama has been a commonplace of documentary film (ibid.). Brian Winston also argues that Grierson's definition of documentary is problematic. Ultimately, Winston suggests that technological innovation has dissolved the connection between 'the image and the imaged' leads the significant impact on the documentary film. 'The camera's capacity to capture the real will not be erased by this, but … audience will be need to determine documentary's authenticity' (Winston 2008: 9). Winston claims that the creative 'treatment' refers to the necessary manipulation to create the narrative of the documentary film (Winston 2013: 6). Hence, we are now entering a 'post-Griersonian' phase. He suggests three historical phases to define different types of documentary film practices: Griersonian Documentary, Vertovian Documentary, and Post-Griersonian (ibid., 1-26). These innovations broaden the debates on the definition of documentary. However, these discussions related to the definition of documentary from the Western perspective remain rare among Taiwanese documentarians. According to the existing literature in Chinese in Taiwan, the latest article that introduces the latest controversial debates (e.g. Bruzzi and Winston) about the definition of documentary film " Re-defining *What is Documentary*: Contemplating the Hybrid Form of Documentaries and Feature Films" (Lee Daw-Ming 2009). More recently, chapter 2 of Lee's monograph *Documentary Film: History, Aesthetics, Production and Ethics* (2013) also introduces the latest definitions of documentary film adopted from the West. Arguably, limited information in Chinese and the language barrier help to explain the persistence of a more conservative definition of documentary in Taiwan compared to the Anglophone documentary studies.

In terms of history, as mentioned above, before the 1990s, the Japanese colonial period (1895 to 1945) and long-term martial law (1949 to 1987) led to a unique social-political environment in Taiwan. State control in all its forms led to

documentary film making being little more than government propaganda right up until the late 1980s. This form of government propaganda was acknowledged as the canon of documentary cinema; it formed another convention of Taiwanese documentary (see Chapter 2). However, the emergence of independent documentary began to break away from government media control in the late 1980s (see Chapter 5) and diluted the notion of propaganda in Taiwanese documentary in general. The terms of 'alternative medium (*linglei meiti*)[3]' or 'minority medium (*xiaozhong meiti*)' were commonly used in mass communications discourse to contrast independent documentary productions with the mainstream. The term 'independent documentary (*duli jilupian*)' appeared in Taiwan arguably in 1990, in a newspaper article about the screening of documentary *Moon Children* (1990) (Liang Xin-Hua 1990: B11). The term 'independent (*duli*)' in the Taiwanese context implies the meaning of individual or peculiar instances or stands that confront the mainstream, but not necessarily with a political objective. The article used the term to describe *Moon Children*, which was made by Full Shot Studio outside the mainstream system (see Chapter 5 for further detail). Since then, the documentary filmmakers have adopted the term and claimed they are 'independent documentarians (*duli jilupian gongzuozhe*)', and the mode of independent production gradually dominant in Taiwan. Existing research is almost solely focused on the development of Taiwanese documentary in general, but does not consider the distinct development of Taiwanese independent documentary. In addition, although the mode of independent documentary-making gave relatively broader possibility to documentary for exploring its territory in terms of the form and the definition. The influences realism tradition and the notion of Griersonian remain a vital element of contemporary Taiwanese independent documentary.

Now let me return to the success of *Gift of Life* which I mentioned earlier and which led to independent production becoming the dominant mode of documentary-making in Taiwan. In regard to the shift towards independent production, the situation in Taiwan is quite like the UK and the US. In the UK, Marilyn Gaunt (2009) described her documentary production career since the 1970s as shifting from teamwork with an institution like the BBC to individual production

[3] The term 'alternative medium (*linglei meiti*)' here specifically refers to the use of video as the medium to break through governmental censorship under the martial law period (1949-1987) in Taiwan (see Chapter 2 & 5).

companies in the 2000s. Gaunt indicates that due to the innovation of filmmaking facilities and the reform of television stations, the mode of production for documentary-making transformed from industrial "in-house" production to the independent sector, and 'television is no longer the only place for documentary filmmakers to go to fund their projects' (Gaunt 2009: 161). Blagrove (2009) also says that for expressing the documentary perspective from the filmmakers' own angle, 'it is necessary to produce documentaries totally independent of mainstream funding' (Blagrove 2009: 174). And in the US, Jack C. Ellis and Betsy A. McLane (2009) indicate that independent documentary production has become a relatively popular form since the 1990s. For instance, there is the work of documentarians Les Blank, Judith Helfand, and Deborah Hoffmann who encouraged independent documentary production since the 1990s and even earlier in the 1970s (Ellis and McLane 2009: 309-10; 312-3). The filmmakers can source financing and distribution from government agencies and private foundations' regular grants (Richard M. Barsam 1992: 377).

Looking at the UK, Wilma de Jong (2012) highlights that small-scale independent documentary productions, working outside the main broadcasting sector, are gradually beginning to take over from the mainstream, established sector. Jong claims that the emergence of 'a total filmmaker'-- 'who is likely to be centrally involved in conceiving, researching, producing, shooting, editing and distributing their film' (Wilma de Jong 2012: 2) and collaborating with other skilled professionals, is perhaps becoming a relatively popular documentary production mode compared to broadcasting in the past, where there were larger budgets, bigger crews and the constraints of established "rule-bound" institutions. Jong suggests that there are four trends driving this change: (i) the most vital source of finance for making documentaries—broadcast television—no longer offers large budgets for one-off documentaries. Documentary makers need to seek financial support from other sources, 'from online platforms, trusts, foundations and campaigns, or from private (often their own) investment, to reduce production costs and discover their audience through different channels' (Wilma de Jong 2012: 3); (ii) Advanced digital technologies (e.g. digital camcorders and editing software used on home computers) making smaller crews possible; (iii) the institutions that controlled documentary production and distribution approaches (e.g. broadcasting companies and large independent production companies) have turned to work with freelancers

or micro-companies for documentary production, and the institutions themselves tend to work with 'multi-skilling, small, flexible teams and cheaper technologies' instead of industrial production methods; and (iv) the proliferation of documentary distribution platforms, including social media (e.g. Facebook or YouTube, and other Internet platforms) enables documentary makers to promote their films by themselves (Wilma de Jong 2012: 3). In addition, according to the research, employment for terrestrial broadcasters has been decreasing, but there has been an increase in the independent production sector (Skillset Employment Census 2009: 10). Notably, the former style of documentary production in Taiwan resembles the UK circumstances, with small scale or individual documentary productions grabbing attention in the sector and accomplishing significant achievements, such as *Gift of Life* and other cases that I will demonstrate in this research. Independent documentary production has become the dominant form of documentary films, and the established industry (film studios and television stations) no longer dominates documentary production.

However, although the current approach of Taiwanese independent documentary production resembles the UK or US, the characteristics of independent documentary in Taiwan also have distinct differences. Many of these arise from Taiwan's unique social and political background. These special aspects make Taiwanese independent documentary a worthy research topic. As a documentarian and a lecturer on documentary production practice for several years, I started to research what the characteristics of independent documentary in Taiwan are in terms of the historical perspective, and how these complex historical aspects make the development of Taiwanese independent documentary a unique phenomenon distinct from other countries.

My research aims to fill that gap and offer a fundamental historic overview of general aspects of the Taiwanese independent documentary sector. My research can be a foundation for further specific study, on, for instance, authorship, genre and future prospects. I consider the independent documentary in terms of its mode of production in different periods, which was influenced by the social-political background in Taiwan and formed the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in different historic terms. I interpret the existing materials, especially databases, previous interviews with Taiwanese documentarians, and documentary films in the archives, all from the historical perspective of independent

documentary-making in Taiwan. Due to the ambiguity of definition in documentary film and the absence of independent documentary research in Taiwan, previously, source materials were looked at just in the context of either documentary film in general or the so-called alternative media in general. I review the existing materials and distinguish the criteria for defining independent documentary. I then bring in the primary materials that I collected to demonstrate the specific characteristics of the independent documentary in Taiwan. As I will discuss in the literature review chapter and demonstrate in the core chapters 4 to 8, my interpretation differs from previous research. Whereas previous research in Taiwan has considered independent documentary in different frameworks, for instance, as a 'minority medium' (Jiang Guan-Ming 1988, 1992; He Zhao-Ti 1993), popular documentary (*minzhong jilupian*) (Chen Liang-Feng 1998), individual documentary (*geren jilupian*) and academic documentary (*xueyue jilupian*) (Lu Feii 2001; Han Xu-Er 2001), I argue they should all be placed under the general category of 'independent documentary'.

In addition, Chinese-language research into the Taiwanese independent documentary has been limited so far. Therefore, I not only initiated this research but also collected primary materials relating to the most significant period of Taiwanese documentary development, i.e. the period since the late 1980s, from my perspective based on my own participation in those events and using my personal connections. The primary materials include interviews (see appendix I), un-released documentaries and un-published documents that were originally scattered among different individuals, organizations and institutions. I aim to contribute research that will be a base to enable further research on Taiwanese independent documentary. In this regard, this collection of primary materials including the interviews, original documents, and independent documentaries, provides further evidence of the extraordinary of development of Taiwanese independent documentary in the past two decades.

Furthermore, English-language research relating to Taiwanese documentary is rare, and research regarding history of Taiwanese independent documentary is almost non-existent. *Documenting Taiwan on Film* (2012) is the first anthology dedicated to Taiwanese documentary. However, the essays contained in this anthology do not include an historical overview of Taiwanese independent documentary. The essays approach Taiwanese documentary from production,

cultural studies, and media studies angles, but the concept of Taiwanese independent documentary in general is absent from the anthology. My work aims to fill the gap, contributing to our understanding of documentary in East Asia and indeed the world covering content, mode of production, and social use.

However, I am not aiming to compare the differences in the development of documentary (especially independent documentary) between Taiwan and the West. In fact, there are numerous similarities among the phenomena that emerged in Taiwan and the West in the development of documentary film, despite the diverse local factors informing documentary in different places. For instance, the Challenge of Change project (1967) on aboriginal documentary-making that was launched by the National Film Board of Canada in the 1960s (Waugh, Baker & Winton 2010: 38-40) was a phenomenon similar to the projects of the Taiwanese indigenous peoples to make documentary independently and express their identity in the 2000s (see Chapter 8). The potential for detail comparative research on projects such as these is great, but it would be a whole different research project from mine, which is focused on tracing the history of independent documentary in Taiwan and its particularities.

1.2 Defining Independent Documentary Production in Taiwan

Generally speaking, the characteristics of independent documentary depend on the circumstances of societies and film or television industries in different regions. Although most independent documentary filmmaking follows the conventional concept that production takes place outside the film studio system, the production of independent documentary can be relatively more or less concerned with the social and political context. For instance, independent documentary in China is almost clandestine in nature as it speaks against the state established political ideologies, is made outside the government-owned film or television production organizations, and is released by alternative approaches like the internet or private screenings (Lu Xinyu 2010: 15). The independent documentary in China adopts the concept of indie or underground documentary, which is in between the legal and illegal. Documentaries in China that are initiated and controlled by the filmmakers themselves outside the 'dominant system (*tizhi*)' can be seen as independent documentary; which means they are outside the control of the authorities and censorship and classification mechanisms that would release them to the film or television markets (Berry 2006: 112). In Malaysia, the independent documentary refers to the documentary that is not only made outside studio system and not made for state television but also low-budget (below $32,712-USD), non-profit oriented, self-financed, and made with no intention to exhibit in mainstream local cinema (to escape government censorship) (Khoo Gaik Cheng 2010: 138). In addition, Malaysian independent documentaries are normally 'financed by non-profit groups or individual filmmakers who are interested in particular issues or topics who raise their own funds without help of the state or other bodies that might assert control over their artistic project (ibid., 137).' To examine whether the financing comes from governmental organisations no matter partially or entirely can be seen as an important criterion for defining Malaysian independent documentary.

To reveal the meaning of independent documentary in Taiwan, in this research, I use the 'mode of production' in the manner of documentary-making as my main approach to define 'the independent documentary (*duli jilupian*)' in

Taiwan in different historical periods. To clarify the meaning of mode of production in my research, in this section I will detail the terms 'independent production' and 'mode of production' in documentary-making in Taiwan.

1.2.1 Independent production

To address the concept of independent documentary production in general, I adopt the conventional aspect of independent film production, as it is understood in Taiwan, which is the films made outside mainstream film studios, television stations, and governmental-affiliated production. In this and the following section (1.2.1 and 1.2.2), I will discuss how to define independent documentary production in Taiwan.

I define the term 'independent documentary' by examining the following criteria: (a) whether the mode of production qualifies as an independent production (in the conventional sense, which means outside the governmental-affiliated organizations and mainstream television stations and film studios), and (b) the purpose of the production.

In examining, the first criterion of the independent documentary in Taiwan, I suggest that the mode of production has to conform to the notion of independent production as it also applies to the feature film industry. David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson (2012) define independent production as following set concepts (according to the mode of production within the Hollywood film industry). The independent production has large-scale and small-scale productions according to its financing and the scale of the working crew. Many of the large-scale independent productions 'are made for the theatrical market but usually without major distributor financing' (Bordwell & Thompson 2012: 30). In addition, independent production may give less well-known filmmakers a chance to make their project, and 'filmmakers may have to finance the project by themselves so they must find a distributor specializing in independent and low budget films' to release their films (ibid.). Moreover, with independent financing there is an escape from the control of the major distributors, so that independent productions can engage with the subjects that studio production simply ignores as being too risky (ibid.). Bordwell and Thompson also indicate that small-scale independent production can be relatively

accessible for independent filmmakers. New digital formats make small-scale production much more viable; a single filmmaker can take all or many of the roles in the production. In addition, small-scale production really can highlight the single filmmaker's independence. On the other hand, collective independent production usually means 'the group shares common goals and makes production decisions democratically' (ibid., 32). Small-scale production gives filmmakers relatively wider space and possibilities to make their films, therefore, 'experimental film and documentary traditions have given great weight to the film dominated by a single person's efforts' (ibid., 31). In this research, I focus heavily on the individual production (*geren zhizuo*), which means documentary-making by an individual filmmaker. Since the 1990s, this has been the main form of independent documentary-making in Taiwan with only a few exceptional collective independent documentary teams (e.g. Green Team and Full Shot Studio, see chapters 5 and 6).

The purpose of documentary production is the second criterion that can show whether the documentary qualifies as an independent production. After the mid-1990s, social circumstances became more democratic and liberal in Taiwan, with media control and censorship loosening significantly. Along with the new social atmosphere, the purpose of independent documentary production was no longer just to be outside the system and against authority. Independent documentary production became a popular phenomenon. In some cases, even government organisations offered financial support for the development of documentary production. This support is why purpose is a second criterion of independent documentary production. Many filmmakers who worked for government-affiliated film and television organizations conceived their own documentary productions, and then used the filmmaking facilities in their workplaces. However, they made their films for their own purposes. For instance (see chapter 5), there were some independent documentary pioneers who emerged in the 1970s who fit this pattern. Budget is a key factor in mode of production, and in Taiwan it often comes from government on way of the other. Therefore, examining purpose is crucial to distinguish whether a documentary is truly independent.

I argue that those making documentaries without being commissioned by government organizations or the television and film industry are the true face of independent documentary production. For instance, the budget coming from government documentary film subsidies for developing the film industry offered by

the Government Information Office (GIO), or the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF), and the Public Television Service (PTS), which is established by government money, can be seen as an investment from government but without interfering with the production. This is discussed further in chapter 7. However, there are numerous documentary productions released by government organisations covering specific themes, content and objectives, for instance, documentaries promoting government policies. Such documentaries do not qualify as truly "independent" and are beyond the scope of this research.

Budgets for documentary making often come from enterprises or their attached organisations (e.g. foundations) as well as from the public sector. As I will discuss further in chapter 7, after the mid-1990s, the popularity of Taiwanese independent documentary led enterprises to seek out young independent filmmakers offering support. Most of those documentaries were made as non-profit projects about public welfare issues rather than promoting commercial products or services. The documentarians retained their own position, point of view and way of making the documentary; therefore, they remain qualified as independent documentarians. One trend that I discuss in further detail later in this research is the independent documentary released into movie theatres, which emerged in the late 1990s and early 2000s. At that moment, the independent documentary became mainstream. Whether the purpose of these documentaries was to promote social-political participation or the creation of cinematic art, being released in movie theatres meant they were engaging with the commercial aspects to some degree.

In conclusion, the mode of production and the purpose of production in documentary-making can distinguish whether the production qualifies as independent. The source of the budget may lead to some controversy. Therefore, purpose of production as well as mode must be combined to determine independent. In the next section, I will discuss the definition of mode of production in my research.

1.2.2 The Mode of Production

In my research, to examine the variety of characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in different periods is the main task. I suggest that the

characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary changes according to social and political circumstances (including those of the film and television industry itself) in Taiwan. In this section, I will explain what the 'mode of production' is and why I apply it as my main research approach.

Various approaches are available to distinguish the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in different historical periods. For instance, the themes (or content) of documentary or changing aesthetics could be used. John Corner (2005) argues that the aesthetics of television documentary can be regarded according to three different criteria: pictorial, aural and narratological (John Corner 2005: 52). The pictorial means elements such as camera movement, editing style, and 'intermittent aesthetics'---including interview, commentary voice over and use of archive film, to project a relative transparency in the depiction by a subjective viewpoint. The aural means the sound in the documentary, for instance, music. The narratological means the use of narrative in the documentary. These criteria can be used to examine the aesthetics of a documentary, and distinguish the characteristics of different documentaries. However, in my research, I aim to distinguish the characteristics of independent documentary through the historical aspects of the social and political circumstances and then construct a history of Taiwanese independent documentary. As Bill Nichols has said,

> 'documentaries adopt no fixed inventory of techniques, address no one set of issues, display no single set form or style. Not all documentaries exhibit a single set of shared characteristics. Documentary film practice is an arena in which things change. Alternative approaches are constantly attempted and then adopted by others or abandoned. Contestation occurs. Prototypical works stand out that others emulate without ever being able to copy or imitate entirely. Test cases appear that challenge the conventions defining the boundaries of documentary film practice. They push the limits and sometimes change them.' (Nichols 2001: 21)

Therefore, the aesthetic aspects or the themes of documentaries will not readily help to distinguish the characteristics of independent documentary. However, the mode of production can address my research questions sufficiently. It reveals the methods that filmmakers use for independent documentary-making in relation to

changes and innovations in the filmmaking facilities, techniques, and changing economic environments that influence sources of budget.

For instance (see chapter 5 and 7), in the late 1980s, under the martial law that had been implemented by the Kuomingtang (KMT) government, in terms of mode of production, independent documentary-making in Taiwan kept well away from the authorities (e.g. governmental-affiliated organizations, film studios, and television stations), including both the budget and ownership, to avoid state censorship. At that moment, the aim of independent documentary was breaking control of the media, therefore, the mode of independent documentary was largely illegal 'underground' activities. The documentaries released to the public through unauthorised approaches included self-organized screenings and unlicensed video sales. However, after the mid-1990s, independent documentary no longer needed to stand up so strongly against media control by the authorities, and became a sort of substitute for mainstream cinematic art. Hence, at that time, independent documentary collaborated with government-affiliated television stations, or received subsidies from public sectors, but carried on producing works outside the system by individual documentarians or independent studios. According to the situation in Taiwan, the changing of society led in turn to changes in the mode of production and diversity among the independent documentary production sector. We can see that the mode of production connects documentary to the social-political circumstances more firmly rather than other approaches, and that is why I have adopted it as my primary criterion here. The mode of production in terms of documentary-making informs the changing characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary.

Regarding mode of production in documentary-making, in the following section I discuss it in terms of five factors: (a) equipment, (b) techniques, (c) budget, (d) release patterns, and (e) ownership. Notably, these five factors can only be used as criteria for distinguishing independent documentary if we take into account changing historical aspects. For instance, the equipment and source of the budget in the 1980s and 2000s may differ. In addition, some independent documentaries may qualify in terms of all five factors and some may qualify only in part. Therefore, in general, if we refer to the key elements that I discussed in the prior section (1.2.1), and examine the documentary by the mode of production that I

suggest here, the characteristics of independent documentary-making in Taiwan can be revealed in a historical perspective.

Equipment

Equipment includes the camera, sound-recording instruments, and editing facilities; the tools used for composing a documentary. This equipment varies with innovation. As I will discuss in more detail in the core chapters, innovation in equipment is related to the development of Taiwanese independent documentary, and can distinguish whether a production is an independent documentary. For instance, in 1930s, the filmmaking equipment was a significant barrier for independent documentary-making. Except for government-affiliated film studios, only a minority could have their own filmmaking equipment. The amateur filmmakers Liu Na-Ou and Deng Nan-Guang were also a professional film producer and a still photographer respectively. Therefore, they owned their own equipment for non-fiction filmmaking. The format of film that they made was 9.5 millimetres celluloid film and without a synchronized sound track (see chapter 4). But, in the 1960s and 1970s, the documentarians borrowed the equipment from government-affiliated television stations to make their own documentary films outside the system in their spare time, for example, Zhuang Ling and Zhang Zhao-Tang who worked in the government-affiliated television stations (see Chapter 5). In addition, the innovation of the electronic video-camcorder and digitalised household camcorder, combined with the social-political circumstances, led to different characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary emerging again after the late 1980s. This relatively affordable and portable video-making equipment allowed independent documentary-making to engage with political movements, for instance, the Green Team, in the late 1980s (see Chapter 5). Furthermore, after the mid-1990s, the digitalized household equipment let young filmmakers use independent documentary-making as a form for expressing their cinematic creativity (see Chapter 7). Moreover, after 2000s, Taiwanese indigenous people used digitalised household equipment for making independent documentaries to assert their social and cultural self-identity (see Chapter 8). Overall, the equipment as a factor of the mode of production indicates how

independent documentary-making became possible, and distinct from mainstream documentary production.

Techniques

By the techniques of documentary-making, I mean directing, editing, cinematography, and all other techniques that refer to the expression of film aesthetics and form. Documentary has its unique techniques: interview and commentary (narrative). However, the technique of interview and commentary that lead documentary-making, in some ways, are close to newsreels (Rotha 1952: 88). Furthermore, as a type of film genre, the techniques of making an independent documentary film do still depend on the techniques of filmmaking in general. It is true that, unlike the conventional feature film that intends to tell a story by fiction, a documentary has no fictional plot. However, it still has its narrative to tell the viewers. As John Grierson claims that the documentary is 'the creative treatment of actuality' (Grierson 1933: 8), the editing—the creative treatment--can be the way to construct the narrative of a documentary. Therefore, to examine the use of techniques can reveal the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary. I will detail more regarding the changing techniques of independent documentary-making in chapters 4 to 8. For instance, in the late 1980s, the main purpose of independent documentary-making was to break the control of the established media. Therefore, at that moment, the techniques of independent documentary-making tended to adopt the form of either newsreel-like documentary—the documentary that intended to document news events without explicit authorial personal viewpoint or critique--or, observational documentary—the documentary that observes and participates in the filmed subjects' lives for a long time, where the filmmaker remains in an observer's position. These independent documentary techniques were evidently different from the government's elaborate and crafted propaganda. In addition, the use of techniques became more diverse and tended to adopt the elements of feature film after the mid-1990s. Independent documentary-making became active as a means of cinematic creativity. The forms of Taiwanese independent documentary developed dynamically and even seized the film audience's attention and interest at the domestic box-office. At that time,

independent documentaries made with relatively elaborate filmmaking techniques demonstrated their potential as a new and relevant form of cinematic art.

Budget

The budget of documentary-making means the funding and resources for the film in question. A budget is needed for elements such as the salary for film technicians, equipment rental, transportation, and celluloid film or videotapes. The budget can come from various sources, whether cash-based on in kind, and will govern the direction or intention of documentary-making. Conventionally, the independent documentary means the production budget; no matter whether it is self-funded or from other sources, should come from outside the system (for example, outside the government and the television station). However, as I discussed in a prior section (1.2.1), production budget from government-related organizations and television stations subsidies, even though the documentary itself is produced outside the system, is becoming a common scenario in Taiwan. For instance, the Public Television Service (PTS) and Government Information Office (GIO, since 2012 renamed as the Ministry of Culture) regularly offer subsidies for documentary production. In terms of independent documentary-making, funding from within the system raises a question mark about whether it is an entirely independent production. I suggest examining not only the budget source but also the intention, in order to distinguish between a subsidy for a production that remains under the control of the filmmaker and a commissioned work with a specific purpose. Therefore, an examination of the sources of the budget can help to chart the development of independent documentary in Taiwan.

Release Patterns

The release pattern means the way that documentaries reach audiences. It includes relatively conventional patterns, such as cinema, television broadcasting, video and digital versatile disk (DVD) release, or alternative approaches, such as film festivals, self-organized travelling screenings and Internet broadcasting. To

examine the release pattern can distinguish whether a documentary is made for the private purposes of filmmaker, and whether a documentary qualifies as independent. Documentary release patterns vary with technological development. However, the intention of releasing the documentary film to the public is a vital criterion that can distinguish whether a documentary film was merely a home-movie or an independent production. As I will detail in chapter 4, an independent filmmaking can be made in a home movie-like manner but still be intended for release to the wider public through amateur cine-clubs or competitions. In general, a documentary released on government-censored platforms (for instance, government-affiliated television station under the martial law period) will almost certainly not qualify as an independent documentary. Changes in release patterns can also reveal the history of independent documentary-making in Taiwan. As I will discuss in chapter 5, a vital criterion for Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s was release by unconventional means and without authorities' permission, in order to break the barriers of government censorship. The government was censoring and controlling the media under the implementation of martial law, forcing the release of the video-documentaries made by independent documentary groups (for example, the Green Team), by 'underground' means. As I will discuss in chapter 7, these release patterns changed significantly especially after the mid-1990s, when television channels and film theatres became the main release platforms for independent documentary in Taiwan. Independent documentarians started to make documentaries outside the system or in cooperation with the system, as an individual filmmaker or in a group such as a studio, and then releasing their works to television channels and/or film theatres. The changing of releasing patterns connects with the changing of social and political circumstances, revealing the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in each period.

Ownership

The ownership means who owns the copyright of a documentary once it has been finished and released. Again, I suggest that the ownership can distinguish whether a documentary qualifies as an independent documentary, but also can indicate the characteristics of independent documentary in Taiwan in different

historical periods. In independent documentary-making, ownership should belong to the documentarian, including cases where the documentarian needs to share partial ownership with contributors and investors in terms of the regulation of the copyright. For instance, although an independent documentary production initiated by the documentarian may be supported by a television station or government organization, if the documentarian can claim ownership, the production still can be defined as independent. As I will discuss in chapters 7 and 8, government organizations and government-affiliated television stations such as Public Television Service invested numerous subsidies in independent documentary-making starting in the period of the mid-1990s to early 2000s in Taiwan. According to the regulation of the subsidies, the ownership of those independent documentaries either entirely belongs to the documentarians, or the documentarian owns the copyright and the organizations own limited use rights, such as broadcasting and screening.

To conclude, the mode of production contains the elements that refer to the procedure of documentary-making. Focusing on it can enable us to determine whether a documentary production qualifies as independent, and we can analyze the changing characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary through the connection between the mode of production and the social-political circumstances in different historical periods.

1.3 Historical Approach

This section briefly outlines how the historical approach has shaped my examination of the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary, and I will detail this approach further in the methodology chapter (see Chapter 3).

Since the mid-1990s, documentary production has become a popular phenomenon in Taiwan (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 182), and independent documentary production has become the dominant mode (Lu Feii 2001: 14). The compelling achievements of independent documentary in the commercial film market have grown and developed into a remarkable phenomenon in film production and social practice. But, not only has previous research such as that of Han Xu-Er and Lin Cong-Yu overlooked the importance of independence, but also it has relied on the existing literature and databases, with the researchers trying to interpret these materials from their perspectives. My approach is a little different: I have used existing literature and databases, but I have an emphasis on new primary materials including interviews with documentarians to discuss their works, whether publicly released or not. For the existing literature and databases, my emphasis is on historical change and on the period after the mid-1990s, and especially from the early 2000s to the present, which has been relatively neglected to date. However, generally speaking, the history of Taiwanese independent documentary that I construct relies on primary materials analyzed historically from my perspective regarding the mode of production.

As I will detail in the chapter on methodology (Chapter 3), to display the changing phenomena of Taiwanese independent documentary in a historical perspective contributes to the effort to build a comprehensive study of Taiwanese documentaries. I aim to write a social film history based on primary materials that I collected by myself, as well as existing published works, with a new interpretation in terms of my perspective on independent documentary in Taiwan. Therefore, I construct a history of Taiwanese independent documentary in terms of its social aspect. In *Film History: Theory and Practice* (1985), Allen and Gomery adopt the concept of Ian Jarvie (1970) to suggest that social film history pursues four questions: (a) who makes movies and why; (b) who sees films, how and why; (c)

what is seen, how and why; (d) how do films get evaluated, by whom and why (Allen and Gomery 1985: 154). These questions are fundamental in my research to distinguish the characteristics of independent documentary in Taiwan and construct the history of Taiwanese independent documentary.

From the angle of film history, I argue that the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary were changing in different periods, according to the changes in Taiwan's social-political background. I segregate the history of Taiwanese independent documentary into five overlapping historical periods: (a) before 1945 (Japanese colonial period); (b) after 1945 to late 1980s; (c) late 1980s to mid-1990s; (d) mid-1990s to early 2000s; and (e) early 2000s to present. These historical periods overlap. Therefore, there is no precise starting and ending point (date) for each historical period. However, I argue that each period has its own characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary. These characteristics may emerge in prior periods. For instance, I claim the most significant characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary in the 1980s was use as a vehicle for engaging with social and political movements. However, a few scattered independent documentaries with similar characteristics emerged before this.

1.4 Chapter Breakdown

The structure of the thesis consists of: introduction (Chapter 1), literature review (Chapter 2), methodology (Chapter 3), five core chapters to demonstrate the history of Taiwanese independent documentary (Chapters 4 to 8), and the conclusion (Chapter 9).

After the introduction chapter, in the literature review chapter, I review the existing literature regarding the history of Taiwanese documentary in general and key texts on documentary history, largely from outside Taiwan. Through reviewing these texts, I aim to indicate the shortcomings of existing research on Taiwanese documentary, and adopt historiographic concepts and methods from the histories of documentary beyond Taiwan, as well as making historical comparisons between the development of documentary within Taiwan and outside. In addition, I aim to trace the emergence of the documentary film in general in Taiwan, and the historical aspects of documentary-making in Taiwan, to indicate the unique circumstances of Taiwanese independent documentary by comparison. Overall, I argue that the extent and variety of independent documentary production has been overlooked by previous researchers who have failed to see the continuity of this production mode that constitutes a wide range of documentaries as independent. Therefore, they have not attempted to construct a history and account for changes within that history, as I attempt here. In chapter three, I introduce the research method that I pursue. In addition to using existing published resources, I emphasize the importance of conducting fresh research to produce new primary data, both in the form of hitherto unavailable or inaccessible documentary films, and also in the form of new interviews with filmmakers. Then, I commence to construct the history of Taiwanese independent documentary and demonstrate my findings of the research from chapters 4 to 8.

In chapter 4, I will examine the pre-history of Taiwanese independent documentary, which means the emergence of individual non-fiction filmmaking in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). I argue that they were precursors of Taiwanese independent documentary. At this stage, under Japanese colonisation, there were few non-fiction film productions outside the government-

affiliated organizations. They were amateur filmmaking activities, including by individuals and cine-clubs. In terms of the traits shown by these amateur films, these films cannot be defined as the documentary film within the conventional understanding claimed by John Grierson in the 1930s. However, in terms of mode of production and the form of the films, I argue, they were the precursors of Taiwanese independent documentary.

In chapter 5, I argue that scattered independent documentary-making emerged after the 1960s before being launched comprehensively in the late 1980s in Taiwan. The implementation of martial law by the Kuomintang (KMT) government between 1949 and 1987 via the government-affiliated film studios and television stations (after 1962) applied severe censorship on the media to limit freedom of speech. Documentary-making outside the official system was difficult, and so there was no continuous production of independent documentaries established by this point. In terms of the mode of production, from the 1960s until the 1980s, only scattered independent documentaries emerged. They included filmmakers who worked for government-affiliated television stations but made documentaries in their spare time outside the system independently, and film students who studied filmmaking overseas making documentaries shown to only a limited audience. In addition, some filmmakers were influenced by the concept of the avant-garde and made documentaries independently as their avant-garde creations. Despite no signs of sustained independent documentary production in this period, however, it does show alternative possibilities and the sparks of independent documentary-making in Taiwan under difficult social-political circumstances. After the late 1980s, the vital characteristic of independent documentary was documentary-making as a vehicle for breaking the barriers of government-controlled media, and independent documentary-making was used for participating in the social and political movements. In this chapter, I will examine the social and political circumstances in the late 1980s in order to explain the background leading to the deployment of the early stage of Taiwanese independent documentary-making. In the late 1980s, before the cessation of martial law, the social and political changes meant media control was loosened, inspiring the independent documentary-making sector to break the censorship and media control with a new sense of social and political participation. The innovation of electronic video-making facilities encouraged independent video documentary. In this chapter,

I will analyse the Green Team as a key instance, and other individual documentarians, to detail the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary then.

In chapter 6, I examine independent Taiwanese documentary between the late 1980s and mid-1990s. I argue that Taiwanese independent documentary in this period reflected social-political change with a greater focus on issues on the margins of society, and a connection with the Taiwanese nativist movement (*bentulun*) to embody the consciousness of community through the Community Development Project (*Shequ Zongti Yingzao*). The relaxation of media control and the liberalization of mainstream media was a driver for many independent documentaries; the broadcasting of sensitive social-political issues no longer needed independent documentary as the vehicle. However, the issues of marginal society remained relatively ignored by the mainstream media, especially television. In this chapter, I analyse Full Shot Studio as the key instance and give other individual documentarians as examples that demonstrate the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary then.

In chapter 7, I argue that the most significant characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary between the mid-1990s and early 2000s is the independent documentary-making becoming a form of cinematic creativity. In this period, the decline of Taiwan's domestic film industry led to the growth of independent documentary as a new alternative cinematic form. In addition, subsidies in different forms invested in independent documentary production, the establishment of the Graduate Institute of Documentary Production and Research in Tainan National College of the Arts, and the launch of specific television programmes for documentary on the Public Television Service channel, all facilitated the thriving of independent documentary-making. Cinematic creativity motivated individual documentarians during this period. In this chapter, I will detail the social-political background at that moment, and examine independent documentarians and independent documentaries to demonstrate the changing concept of independent documentary-making at this stage. I will set out a case study of Lin Yu-Xian, to discuss how a film professional began as a successful documentarian then moved on to become a commercial feature film director, and to support my argument about the key characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in this period.

In chapter 8, I will examine the trend of independent documentary-making since the early 2000s. I argue that the characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary at this stage is its use as a means of expressing self-identity speaking out about social and cultural issues, especially by those who used to be filmed subjects, for instance, indigenous peoples and migrants. Independent documentary-making opened up the possibility for minorities to speak-out from their own perspectives. The conventionally filmed subject used independent documentary-making as the means for expressing themselves. In this chapter, I will examine indigenous, Hakka, foreign laborer and foreign spouse documentarians, to demonstrate how they use independent documentary-making to re-discover their own roots and self-identity and interpret the issues regarding their own groups from their own perspectives as part of Taiwan's society.

In the concluding chapter, I will indicate the contributions of my research, and initiate further research directions that can be conceived through my work. To conclude, my research fills a significant gap in the existing research regarding Taiwanese independent documentary. As fundamental research in documentary studies, my research launches various possibilities for further research in documentary studies in Taiwan.

Note of Chinese and non-English Words and Names

In this thesis, I have preserved Chinese name order, with the family name coming first. I use Pinyin as the method of spelling the Chinese Mandarin. However, with some famous personalities and organizations that have acquired widely known spellings in the English context, for instance, Chiang Kai-Shek (*Jiang Jie-Shi*) or Kuomintang (*Guomingdong*), I will follow the original usage. Among the titles of documentaries, literatures and books, if there are English titles from the authors or publications, I will follow the original titles. Otherwise, I will give an English translation along with the Pinyin spelling. For example, when I write '*Moon Children* (*yueliang de xiaohai*)', I indicate its pronunciation in Chinese Mandarin and original title.

In addition, the Chinese languages in this thesis are various, including Chinese-Mandarin, Hakka dialect, and Fukien-Chinese dialect. I will use the transliterations according to Chinese-Mandarin if there has no original transliteration, or follow the original materials if they provide their own transliteration. For instance, *1394 Daxilu* is the Hakka dialect translated to Chinese-Mandarin and transliterated in Pinyin spelling.

Moreover, there are some other languages used in this thesis as well, including Taiwanese indigenous languages and Japanese. For indigenous languages, I will follow the interviewees' preferred English alphabet spellings according to their pronunciations of the original language. For instance, the indigenous name 'Mayaw Biho' is written in this way. For Japanese, I will follow the original usage if the materials note the spelling using the English alphabet. However, there are some materials written in Chinese characters, or *kanji*, for example people's names. I transliterate these according to Japanese pronunciation according to the standard Hepburn manner of romanizing Japanese, for instance, 'Takamatsu Toyojiro'.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In this chapter, my primary discussion focuses on the existing literature concerned with the Taiwanese documentary. Second, I also review the general history of the documentary itself in countries outside of Taiwan. In Section 2.1, I discuss how prior research has defined the independent documentary in Taiwan, and how this literature has thought about the documentary's characteristics. I further discuss how much of the existing literature has failed to offer an adequate definition of the 'independent documentary (*duli jilupian*)'. Prior research explores different documentary forms throughout history that actually resemble characteristics of the independent documentary. However, what this same literature does not attempt to further discuss or define is the meaning of the term, 'independent documentary'. My research on the independent documentary in Taiwan contributes to debates in Taiwanese documentary scholarship by filling this gap and creating a foundation for future research.

In Section 2.1.1, I address the contributions and limitations of the existing literature. Specifically, I primarily focus on examining the following texts: *The Production of Taiwanese Newsreel and Documentary: a Historical Analysis (1945 to 2001)* (Han Xu-Er 2001) and *The Changing and Developing of Taiwanese Documentary from 1990 to 2005* (Lin Cong-Yu 2006).

In section 2.1.2, I will examine an article 'What is the documentary?' (1985) written by Lee Daw-Ming, and two master degree theses, *The Alternative Media, Culture of Movement and Power—The Mode of Movement and Production of the Green Team* (1993) written by He Zhao-Ti, and *A Procedure of Popularising Documentary Production* (1998) written by Chen Liang-Feng. Although these texts are not directly connected to the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary, I explore these texts to explore questions concerning why the Taiwanese documentary has been vaguely defined prior to the 1990s.

In Section 2.2, I ask questions concerning how the history of the documentary has been constructed and chronicled. In addition, I also explore the contrast between the development of the Taiwanese documentary and documentary outside of Taiwan by reviewing these texts. Mainstream studies of the documentary have left out the Taiwanese documentary. My research addresses this gap.

2.1 Research on the Taiwanese Documentary

In Taiwan, prior research concerning the term, 'independent documentary', has been inadequate and vague. This lack of specificity has limited the development of the 'independent documentary' *concept* in Taiwan. The term, 'independent documentary' did not circulate in Taiwan until the 1990s (see chapter 1). I further argue that, since the 1960s, the Taiwanese independent documentary as a *practice* developed through its own *scattered* emergence throughout Taiwan. That is, the independent documentary embodied varying characteristics that changed along with the shifts in the social and political circumstances in Taiwan.

After the 1990s, documentary filmmaking grew into a popular phenomenon in Taiwan. Scholarship concerning documentaries became more frequent during this time, and the research often commented on the increasing volume of documentary production within Taiwan (Lee Daw-Ming 2002: 72). However, most of the literature regarding the Taiwanese documentary has been written in the Chinese language. Works written in English are quite rare, but can be found in the anthology, *Documenting Taiwan on Film: Issues and Method in New Documentaries* (2012); this is the only published, English collection dedicated to a discussion the Taiwanese documentary at the present time of this writing. Other English works include those by, Chiu Kuei-Fen (2013, 2012, 2007), Lee Chin-Chuan (2003), Robert Chi (2003) and Chen De-Ling (2002). These authors have, respectively, contributed articles and master degree theses in English about the Taiwanese documentary. However, all of these English texts are not directly connected to my research. They discuss the Taiwanese documentary in general, rather than independent documentaries. Furthermore, they focus on specific subjects, such as ethics, cultural studies (Chiu Kuei-Fen), and aesthetics (Chen De-Ling), but lack focused discussions about the historical overview of the Taiwanese documentary.

In My thesis addresses this gap in English-language research. Here, I will examine the existing research concerned with the history of the Taiwanese documentary, including articles written by Lu Feii (2001), Wang Wei-Ci (2006), Lee Daw-Ming (2007), You Hui-Zhen (1994) and other scholars in Taiwan. In

addition, I will discuss a controversial debate in 1985 about the definition of Taiwanese documentary film. This discussion demonstrates the ambiguous definition of the Taiwanese documentary throughout its history. Also, I will focus on two master's degree theses written by Han Xu-Er (2001) and Lin Cong-Yu (2006); these are the only two existing monographs about the history of the Taiwanese documentary in general (up to the present date of writing). Then, I will review the research regarding independent documentary production in Taiwan written by He Zhou-Ti (1993) and Chen Liang-Feng (1995), to demonstrate their concepts of the independent.

Discussions of history continue to be rare in studies of Taiwanese documentaries (whether locally of overseas). Any historical discussions usually focus on fiction film.

All of the existing monographs about Taiwanese documentary history were launched after an important research project called, "The Project of the Database of the Taiwanese Newsreel and Documentary, including Filmography, Bibliography and Oral History," which ran from 1997 to 2000. This was used to collect research about the Taiwanese documentary since the end of the Japanese colonial period. The project was hosted by Lee Daw-Ming, Wang Wei-Ci, Zhang Chang Yan, and Lu Feii, and supported by the Council of Cultural Affairs in Taiwan. Lu Feii states that the Taiwanese documentary is defined in the research as that which is 'produced in Taiwan' regardless of its production in the Japanese colonial period, before or after 1945 (Lu Feii 2001: 6). This definition persists despite the difficulty of forming a clear picture of the Taiwanese documentary's history from the fragmented and scattered information available. Lu argues for a historical breakdown of the Taiwanese documentary into four periods, defined by the *transition* between one documentary production mode to another: (i) the period of film newsreels from 1945 to 1971; (ii) the period of the news and news magazine for television from 1971 to 1984; (iii) the period of the documentary for television and the independent documentary from 1984 to 1995, and (iv) the period of the personal documentary and the academic documentary from 1995 to present (Lu 2001). Lu Feii does not offer much detail concerning his periodisation. However, he indicates that changes in production mode give the Taiwanese documentary different characteristics in different time periods. Significantly, Lu Feii's historical

breakdown has been adopted by most subsequent historical research about the Taiwanese documentary, which I will detail in the later sections.

2.1.1 Histories of the Taiwanese Documentary

In this section, I examine two Master's degree theses that attempt to establish Taiwanese documentary history: *The Production of Taiwanese Newsreel and Documentary: A Historical Analysis (1945 to 2001)* by Han Xu-Er (2001) and *The Changing and Developing of Taiwanese Documentary from 1990 to 2005* by Lin Cong-Yu (2006). In addition, I will engage the articles discussed in these two theses to clarify my arguments.

Among the research literature available at present, these two theses are the only works that offer a relatively complete discussion about the history of the Taiwanese documentary. Han Xu-Er's research adopts the historical perspective as constructed by Lu Feii (2001), including his four-period breakdown as discussed earlier, and offers details to fill in Lu's historical breakdown. Specifically, Han's analysis traces a filmography and constructs a historical narrative of the Taiwanese documentary in terms of the mode of production between 1945 and 2001.

Lin Cong-Yu's (2006) thesis adopts the theoretical frame of Michel Foucault's 'discourse analysis' and Thomas Kuhn's (1962) 'paradigm shift' to clarify his arguments. Lin (2006) argues that the Taiwanese documentary underwent various transitions according to Taiwan's shifting cultural and social dynamics. In the different periods, various 'paradigms' became established as forms of documentary in Taiwan. Therefore, Lin's perspective offers a complementary, alternative approach alongside Han Xu-Er's (2001) thesis. However, as I will discuss later in this chapter, to consider the documentary productions as several 'paradigms' in terms of historical perspective cannot reveal the qualities and the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary sufficiently.

Both Lin Cong-Yu (2006) and Han Xu-Er (2001) construct comprehensive historical perspectives of the Taiwanese documentary between 1945 and 2005, making their work vital for the research in my own thesis. Notably, Han's research approach employs an analysis concerning the *mode of production* to examine the

history of documentary production in Taiwan. Examining these histories through the mode of production is also what I adopt in my research as a primary methodological approach, which I will discuss further in Chapter 3. In the next sections, I discuss how both Lin and Han *refer* to the term 'independent documentary', but fail to sufficiently clarify the meaning of the term and do not offer enough detail concerning its historical context.

Newsreel and Documentary

In *The Production of Taiwanese Newsreel and Documentary: A Historical Analysis (1945 to 2001),* Han Xu-Er constructs a history of the Taiwanese documentary. He uses a social-historical approach to analyse the development of the Taiwanese documentary from the end of the Japanese colonial period in 1945, focusing on the surrounding social factors and the production of newsreels and documentaries (Han Xu-Er 2001: 17). However, Han (2001) did not give a definition or elaborate on the meaning of the independent documentary in his research.

Han argues that independent documentaries were the types of video productions in the late 1980s that subverted the government-controlled mainstream media (for instance, the Green Team, which I will discuss in more detail shortly). However, Han argues that the importance of such independent documentaries faded with the end of martial law in 1987. Such independent productions were no longer necessary due to the changing political circumstances and the loosening of media controlled by the government (ibid., 99). We can deduce, therefore, that Han's arguments assume a definition of the independent documentary based on resistance against government authorities and media control. However, I argue that the Taiwanese independent documentary cannot be exclusively defined as an apparatus for breaking the media control and participating in the social and political movement in the 1980's. While these considerations are certainly important, I argue that the definition of the Taiwanese independent documentary must be more comprehensive.

Therefore, my thesis also discusses the development of the Taiwanese independent documentary and its emergence as a significant, yet peculiar

phenomenon within Taiwanese film studies. Its peculiarity concerns how the independent documentary's definition and characteristics has emerged and shifted with the entangled historical undercurrents of different periods in Taiwan. I will detail this in chapter 5. Furthermore, I argue the development of my own definition of the independent documentary that is based on the *mode of production*. Specifically, I argue that this way of defining it permits a more comprehensive engagement that not only engages the historical past, but continues through the present. Han Xu-Er explains that in the period of film newsreels (1945 to 1971), most of the documentaries made by the government owned organizations were propaganda. He suggests the documentary production mode throughout this period resembled similar modes employed during the Japanese colonial period, and their primary purpose was to promote the power of the nation (Han Xu-Er 2001: 107-9). Lee Daw-Ming (2006) further suggests that when Taiwan began its recovery from Japanese colonialism, the production mode for film newsreels and documentaries was the same. Lee argues that these similarities during and after the Japanese colonial period are connected to the moving of government-affiliated film studios to Taiwan during the Kuomintang (KMT) government's exile there in 1949 (Lee Daw-Ming 2006: 169). The heavy propaganda persisted from the newsreel in Mainland China during the Chinese Civil War into the newsreel's development in Taiwan (Lee Daw-Ming 1990: 44, 81) (see also Chapter 5).

Han argues that between 1971 and 1984, television grew and television stations became important sites of documentary production (Han Xu-Er 2001: 107-9). The stations broadcast daily television news and 'news magazines' to report current affairs with a television documentary format. In this period, the government retained control of television stations and had some documentary programmes supported by government budget. They exercised censorship and control over the topics of these programmes. They particularly avoided sensitive political issues.

The period between 1984 and 1995 is specified as the period of the television documentary (Han Xu-Er 2001). I argue that the independent documentary emerged in Taiwan in the late 1980s. However, as I will detail in chapter 4, I argue that precursors to the independent documentary date as far back as the 1930s in terms of the mode of production, despite the absence of the term 'independent documentary' then. During the 1984 to 1995 period, the social and political climate in Taiwan began to change after the end of martial law, and

television documentary topics became more varied. Han argues that the independent documentary, in this era, can be defined through its opposition to government media control. For instance, the Green Team produced such documentaries. To elaborate on this assertion, Han also discusses the concept of 'guerrilla television', which is a popular mode of using the video camcorder to spread un-authorized images. Such works were mostly concerned with political movements that could not be shown on government-controlled television stations, since doing so would threaten government censorship in the third world in the 1970s (Shamberg and Raindance 1971). 'Guerrilla television' was also evident in the militant cinema that appeared in France after 1968, as well as the May social movement. Han claims that the video medium can easily spread such subversive images and productions through alternative means, reaching ordinary people who are typically only exposed to government-controlled media. Han argues that the Green Team also made their documentaries under these conditions, similar to guerrilla television and militant cinema in Taiwan. Therefore, for these reasons, Han argues that the Green Team's documentaries can be defined as independent documentaries. Specifically, Han defines the independent video documentaries made by the Green Team and other similar productions as 'counter mainstream media (*fan zhuliu meiti*)' rather than defining them in terms of film production. He further suggests that the 'counter mainstream medium' faded in the early 1990s because of the changing social and political circumstances in Taiwan. After the 1990's, Han Xu-Er uses the term 'individual documentary (*geren jilupian*)' and 'academic documentary (*xueyuan jilupian*)' instead of 'independent documentary' in the 1990s and 2000s. However, Han Xu-Er (2001) does not offer further justification of his definition of the 'independent documentary'. Instead, after Han discusses his definition, he proceeds to analyse the social and political contexts in which independent documentary productions have appeared.

In my research, I argue that the late 1980's saw the emergence of the Taiwanese independent documentary. The Green Team was the most significant independent documentary production group in this period, as their mode of production formed the characteristics of the Taiwanese independent documentary at the time. I agree with Han's argument that the Green Team's independent documentaries countered mainstream media (Han Xu-Er 2001:91). However, in contrast to Han Xu-Er, I contend that the independent documentary continued to

thrive well after the late 1980s through to the present, but that its characteristics shifted according to changing social circumstances, which I will demonstrate in Chapter 5 to 8.

In her article, "The Present and Future Circumstances of the Labour Documentary in Taiwan", You Hui-Zhen (1994) differs from Han (2001) by suggesting that the documentaries made by the Green Team can be considered 'underground videos (*dixia lüyingdai*)' which refers to their legal status outside government censorship. She indicates that 'underground video' describes both Green Team and ENG (Electronic News Gathering) videos that are made by groups and individuals outside government controlled mainstream television news and for political or social aims. In addition, You Hui-Zhen is particularly concerned with the documentary from the perspective of *film aesthetics (dianying meixue*), which refers in Chinese Mandarin to the techniques of expression and filmmaking style. She argues that the Green Team's productions use poor quality video and only display images that document events; the videos lack the aesthetic conventions found in film productions and thus cannot be considered as documentary films (You Hui-Zhen 2002).

You Hui-Zhen's concept of the Green Team documentary can also be referred to the activist tradition of documentary beyond Taiwan. For instance, the documentary works of the National Film Board (NFB) in Canada's Challenge For Change project in 1967 aimed to use film and video production to voice the concerns of various communities in Canada. The project believed film and video were useful tools for initiating social change (Waugh, Baker & Winton 2010). Continuing the concept of Challenge For Change, although the NFB faced a crisis of budget cutbacks and downsizing in the 1980s, the smaller-scale NFB continued to engage with the politics and cultures of identities, from aboriginal to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) issues. Throughout the documentary-making, these marginal topics were given access to visibility in the 1990s (Waugh & Winton 2013: 139-40). The motivation of the project revealed the concept of activist documentary-making at work.

However, my perspective differs from You Hui-Zhen's arguments. I argue that filmmakers such as the Green Team use the camcorder as a particular vehicle with specific purposes, without any intention of producing cinematic art. Hence, Green Team videos embody perspectives concerned with what they deemed as

relevant social and political realities, and in this way exemplify the characteristics of the independent documentary that existed in Taiwan in the 1980s (see Chapter 5). For example, in contrast to You Hui-Zhen (2002), Lee Daw-Ming (2006) argues that the form of the Green Team's videos can indeed be termed as 'documentary (*jilupian*)', and not merely an 'image document (*yingxiang jiliu*)'. Lee argues that the Green Team made their documentaries through the long-term observation, and without commentaries, which was relatively new to Taiwanese documentaries. I agree; the video quality may be relatively poor, but it reveals the vital characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s (see Chapter 5). Lee suggests that the new electronic camera was important to changing documentary format in Taiwan. He claims that in the 1980s, when Electronic News Gathering (ENG) equipment was invented, Taiwanese documentary began to deploy long-takes and sync-recordings on ENG, enabling Direct Cinema[4] or Cinéma Vérité-style[5] documentaries. Lee also suggests that '...for the first time, audiences had the chance to hear the voices of ordinary people,' as opposed to the narrator's, in these ENG documentaries (Lee Daw Ming 2006: 171; my translation). These developments imply the democratisation of the Taiwanese media (ibid.). Overall, the Green Team's videos not only revealed the changing social and political realities of Taiwanese society in the 1980s, but also influenced elections by subverting government media control with a democratic medium that could allow the common people's voices to be heard (Lee Daw-Ming 2002: 73).

Aside from the types of independent documentaries exemplified by the Green Team, another phenomenon prominent in the development of the Taiwanese documentary is the television documentary. In Lu Feii (2001) and Han Xu-Er's (2001) breakdown of historical periods, the era between 1984 and 1995 is described as the period of the television documentary. My discussion of television documentaries refers to videos produced by or for the Public Television Station (PTS), and, specifically, the television production studio called 'Full Shot Studio' (which was dedicated to documentary production). In Han Xu-Er's research, Han

[4] Direct Cinema originated in North America between the late 1950s and early 1960s. It refers to documentary-making that attempted to use state-of-the-art lightweight filmmaking facilities to capture reality without the filmmakers' intervention (Saunders 2007).
[5] The concept of *Cinéma Vérité*, which was developed by Jean Rouch, also used lightweight equipment, but included interviews and narration from the filmed subject (Winston 2013: 15-17).

claims that PTS was new territory for television documentary; its very nature brought new possibilities to documentary production as videos containing a variety of subject matter were now possible (Han Xu-Er 2001: 107). However, Han does not elaborate on his arguments sufficiently in his research about PTS, Full Shot Studio, and other studios or individuals dedicated to television documentary production in the early 1990s.

In my research, I argue that between the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the characteristics of the independent documentary in Taiwan further developed, as filmmakers began to address issues concerning the margins of society (see Chapter 6). From my historical perspective, documentaries made by Full Shot Studio in the early 1990s and other studios dedicated to documentary production (e.g. the Firefly studio and individual documentarians), exemplify the kinds of independent documentaries that developed after the end of martial law. In this period, Taiwanese independent documentary production tended to address social concerns and the margins of society, unlike the focus on movement participation in the previous period. Han Xu-Er (2001) also mentions the rise of the 'individual' and 'academic' documentary between 1995 and 2001 due to the rise of innovative filmmaking technologies. The differences between these two forms of documentaries are defined through their mode of production. Han suggests that the 'individual documentary (*geren jilupian*)' refers to documentary production by ordinary individuals, enabled by digital cameras and post-production facilities (Han Xu-Er 2001: 121). According to Han, the 'academic documentary (*xueyuan jilupian*)' refers to documentaries produced through academic institutions such as the newly established institute of documentary filmmaking at the Tainan National College of the Arts (established in 1996). Han shows many students used digital facilities to make individual documentaries but that few were concerned with social issues. Instead, these academic documentaries utilized the observational mode to reveal an aesthetic that was different from documentaries made by the production studios (Han Xu-Er 2001: 130). Lu Feii also claims that because the filmmakers have academic backgrounds, the notion of documentary filmmaking may involve more philosophical contradictions and tensions along with a 'braveness' to try more experimental formats (Lu Feii 2001: 14).

The importance of documentaries made within academic contexts during the 1990s is also discussed in "The Characteristics and the Rise of the Nan-Yi School

of Documentary, 1990-2003" (Huang Yu-Shan 2003). 'Nan-Yi' is shortened form for the National Tainan University of the Arts (NTUA) in Chinese. Huang argues that documentaries made by students of the Graduate Institute of Sound and Image Studies in Documentary after its establishment at NTUA in 1996 can be seen as a new and unique category of Taiwanese documentary. Not only is the annual output of NTUA documentaries huge, but also they have shone at film festivals throughout the late 1990s to early 2000s. She notes that many of these young filmmakers created documentaries as forms of cinematic art rather than for purposes of social and political engagement. But Huang does not elaborate on her claims in the article. In addition, Lu Feii (2001) and Han Xu-Er (2001) ignore discussions of documentary production intended as cinematic art in their historical breakdown of the 1990's period.

Echoing the argument made by Huang Yu-Shan, I also suggest that due to the deterioration of Taiwan's film industry after the 1980s, young film professionals who sought opportunities to work in the film industry used relatively low-budget means to produce independent documentaries, facilitated by new digital filmmaking facilities. These filmmakers have made their independent documentaries as forms of cinematic art, whether to acquire professional credit for their future career, or simply for its own sake (see Chapter 7).

Paradigm Shifts and Documentary History

In this section, I examine Lin Cong-Yu's thesis *The Changing and Developing of Taiwanese Documentary in 1990 to 2005* (2006), which is the other key historical monograph on Taiwanese documentary in general. My discussion explores the problems of Lin's research. Lin Cong-Yu argues that there are three historical 'paradigms' of the Taiwanese documentary.

However, I argue that Lin's approach is too rigid in its reliance on social and political circumstances and misses how the documentary's mode of production has undergone multiple transformations across historical periods in Taiwan.

Lin Cong-Yu employs a Foucauldian discourse analysis and the 'paradigm shift' concept (Kuhn 1962) to construct a paradigm of the Taiwanese documentary that is framed according to different historical periods in Taiwan. Lin argues for

three different historical stages: (i) the Taiwanese documentary as government propaganda between 1945 and the 1980s (ii) the transformation of the documentary model in the 1990s (with Full Shot Studio as the most significant paradigm in this period) and (iii) the establishment of the Public Television Service (PTS) and Tainan National College of the Arts (TNCA). The establishment of two institutions offered new possibilities in the manner of both film training and documentary broadcasting. Like Han Xu-Er, Lin adopts the term independent documentary to describe the type of productions that emerged in the 1980s (for example, Green Team videos) (Lin Cong Yu 2006: 27-28). In addition, he suggests that the independent documentaries produced after the mid-1990s and the establishment of the PTS and TNCA) began a new paradigm of the Taiwanese documentary. Lin suggests that the innovation of electronic video-making facilities such as Electronic News Gathering (ENG) made possible the production of documentaries outside the television industry in the 1980s. Like Han, he adopts 'militant cinema' and 'guerrilla television', but goes on to claim that such alternative media as the Green Team's works could be considered independent documentaries. In addition, Lin suggests that ethnographic television documentaries that appeared in the 1980s and were made by anthropologists and external production studios outside of the television stations (though with budgets from the television stations) should also be considered Taiwanese independent documentaries in the context of the late 1980s (ibid., 34). Furthermore, Lin also argues that Full Shot Studio's documentaries must also be considered as independent documentaries in the same way. Although Lin uses the term 'independent documentary' frequently, he does not explain and elaborate on the definition of the independent documentary. I agree with Lin's criterion of the independent documentary as being produced 'outside' of the system, as far as that goes, but in my thesis I will address what Lin ignores, and further elaborate my own arguments about the definition of the independent documentary.

Other Histories of Taiwanese Documentary

Apart from Han and Lin's theses, a few other articles have attempted to establish histories of particular aspects of the Taiwanese documentary. 'The

cultural transition of the Taiwanese documentary in the past fifty years after WWII' (Lee Daw-Ming 2007) and 'The development of the Taiwanese documentary and social transition from 1960 to 2000' (Wang Wei-Ci 2006) are the most significant articles related to my research.

In Lee Daw-Ming's article, he discusses the Taiwanese documentary from three different dimensions: (a) by the content of the documentary, to analyze changing Taiwanese culture after World War Two, (b) the question of whether the new social environment influenced by the changing Taiwanese culture also changes the Taiwanese documentary, and (c) whether the changing Taiwanese documentary can, in turn, influence changes across Taiwanese culture. Despite its social focus, the article still stresses innovation in filmmaking technologies and therefore the changing production mode as enabling the development of Taiwanese documentary (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 171). Wang Wei-Ci (2007) examines several documentary forms, including newsreels, documentary for television, ethnographic documentary and the so-called independent documentary, from the 1930s to 2000s. Wang Wei-Ci attempts to explain the importance of the documentaries selected in the article. However, due to the unclear breakdown of periods and documentaries selected, it is difficult to understand her historical perspective on the Taiwanese documentary. The article is an overall introduction to the development of the Taiwanese documentary in the past forty years.

Overall, Han Xu-Er (2001), Lin Cong-Yu (2006) and other scholars aim to construct a history of the Taiwanese documentary in general. Their research mentions the term 'independent documentary' at different times. However, they do not elaborate on the significance of the independent documentary in Taiwan. Therefore, in my own thesis, I aim to construct a history of the Taiwanese independent documentary that addresses the gaps in this prior research.

2.1.2 Minority Medium and Popular Documentary

In the 1980's, the definition of the documentary film was relatively vague, with terms such as 'minority medium' or 'popular documentary' being used commonly. However, in terms of the mode of production, the documentaries

covered by these terms can be considered as independent documentary productions across different historical periods. Here, I will focus on (i) the master's degree thesis, *Minority Media, Movement Culture, and Power---Analysis of the Green Team's Form as a Movement and Conditions of Survival*, by He Zhao-Ti (1993). This research focused on the Green Team and defined them as a social and political activist group through their filmmaking. I also examine (ii) the anthology, *Voices From the Margins—Anti-Mainstream Image Media and Social Movement Documents* (1992), an anthology on the production of alternative media for social and political activism in the late 1980s to 1990s, and (iii) the master degree thesis, *Popularising Documentary Production* (1998), which focused on the documentary filmmaking workshops organized by the Full Shot Studio. Very little scholarship has considered the question of whether the term 'independent documentary' was in use in the late 1980s. I believe this is because concern with the political dimensions of documentary predominated at the time, foreclosing upon considerations based on mode of production.

In *Minority Media, Movement Culture, and Power* (1993), He Zhao-Ti analyses the Green Team and its mode of production comprehensively, based on interviews and extensive data from the members of the Green Team. He defines the Green Team as 'minority media (*xiaozhong meiti*)', in order to situate the documentary videos made by Green Team in the territory of media and communications rather than cinema. Hence, the term 'documentary film', and the concept of documentary production are absent in He Zhao-Ti's research. However, her research does provide interviews and primary sources concerning the Green Team, which I analyse through the lens of independent documentary. Most other essays written before the 2000s also consider the Green Team and other video documentary production groups that appeared in late 1980s as alternative media (for instance, Jiang Guan-Ming 1988: A11). The media directed against mainstream television stations or government-controlled media use the term 'social movement documentary (*sheyun jilupian*)' to define videos by the Green Team and other relevant documentary production groups (Lee Daw-Ming 1992: 84).

Popularising Documentary Production (1998) concerns the documentary filmmaking workshops organized by the Full Shot Studio and supported by the Taiwanese government. The author, Chen Liang-Feng, discusses this under the rubric of 'popular documentary (*minzhong jilupian*)'. This concept is essential to

describe how Full Shot Studio advanced documentary workshops all over Taiwan in the 1990s. However, in terms of the mode of production, I argue that 'popular documentary' is difficult to define as a specific genre of documentary. It lacks a form that distinctly separates it from independent documentary production. Therefore, I argue that the 'popular documentary' can actually be considered an independent documentary. Specifically, in the historical context of the 1990's, a vital characteristic of the independent documentary was to make films that engaged social concerns (see Chapter 6).

Chen Liang-Feng used to be a member of Full Shot Studio. Based on primary materials from the workshops, Chen argues that documentaries that a) embody the concept of social practice and b) are made by amateurs working outside the state-controlled system can be defined as 'popular documentaries'. In addition, Chen Liang-Feng categorises the popular documentary into four sub-genres in terms of their use: video activism, cultural heritage videos, collective learning videos and information videos.

Chen clarifies the definition of popular documentary as films made by the participants of the documentary filmmaking workshops. However, in this thesis, I argue that, in terms of the mode of production, these films can be considered independent documentaries. Undoubtedly, independent documentaries made by participants in the Full Shot Studio workshops have significantly shaped the development of the Taiwanese independent documentary.

2.2 Theories and Histories of Documentary Beyond Taiwan

In this section, I briefly examine the theory of documentary film and books on the history of documentary film outside Taiwan. I will examine the theory of documentary in general that engages with the definition and genre of documentary film, and the forms of contemporary documentary in the West. In addition, I will discuss the way they construct the history of the documentary and how they establish its definitions, to consider how scholars and documentarians elsewhere engage with film historiography and documentary studies, construct histories, and demonstrate their arguments. Furthermore, I juxtapose the development of the Taiwanese documentary and the documentary (in general) outside of Taiwan in order to reveal the specificity of the Taiwanese documentary.

Regarding the theory of documentary film, there are numerous monographs and anthologies in English. The definition and genre of documentary film has been a long lasting issue in the debates of documentary theory. For instance, Paul Rotha (1935; 1952) elaborates the concept of documentary film as a new form of film practise, adopting the concept of documentary advanced by John Grierson; Bill Nichols (2001) categorises documentary into six modes; Stella Bruzzi (2006) challenges Nichols's definition and taxonomy of documentary film and replaces it with her own approach; and, most recently, Brian Winston (2008; 2013) has also constructed a different historical perspective on documentary film. Comparing to these dynamic debates on the theory of documentary film outside the Taiwan, as indicated in Chapter 1, in Taiwan, the definition of documentary film continues to be profoundly shaped by the tradition of realism (*xieshijuyi chuantong*). The theory of the definition of documentary film in general remains dominated by the Griersonian concept. Although these differences mean that the current debates from the West may not be entirely suitable for analysing the instances that have occurred in Taiwan, I will discuss the recent debates mentioned above to give a fundamental overview of theories of documentary in general, and juxtapose the related discussions of Taiwanese documentary in order to pinpoint the unique position of Taiwanese documentary.

The genre and form of documentary is another vital issue in documentary theory in general. Arguably, innovations in filmmaking technologies have enabled the diversification of documentary form. Documentary film is not only a vehicle for representing reality, but also gains its value from 'creative treatment' (Grierson 1933) and 'performative' (Bruzzi 2006) elements. The different forms and genres of documentary films express the documentarians' perspective on the subjects they film. There are numerous articles, books and anthologies dedicated to theorizing the forms and genres of contemporary documentary film. For instance, Derek Paget (1998) examines the docudrama/dramadoc, the documentary approach with entertainment value of drama for television; Stella Bruzzi (2006) examines the performative documentary and the formatted television documentary; Laura Rascaroli (2009) and Alisa Lebow (2013) examine the first-person documentary film; and, Andy Glynne (2013) discusses the new animated documentary, which is the documentary film featuring computer generated images. The forms and genres of documentary film referred to above have emerged in western countries strongly, but they are yet to appear as clearly in the spectrum of Taiwanese documentary. The reasons for this difference are beyond the project of this thesis. However, in this section, I will juxtapose the genres and forms of documentary that have emerged in Taiwan with the phenomenon in the western countries to indicate the specificity of Taiwanese documentary.

Referring to the history of documentary, various scholars have written monographs in English regarding the history of the documentary in general (including independent documentary) outside of Taiwan. For instance, Sussex (1975) and Swann (1989) analyse the history of the British documentary movement between the 1920s and 1940s; Barsam (1992) details the history of non-fiction film, mainly in western countries; Waugh, Baker and Winton (ed. 2010) discusses the Canadian documentary produced by the National Film Board of Canada; Winston (2008) examines English-speaking documentary films; and Nornes (2003) discusses the Japanese documentary from the 1930s. However, none of these documentary history books touches upon the history of the documentary in Taiwan. Only chapter 16 ("Non-Fiction Film in Third World and Non-Western Countries") of the Barsam book, *Non-Fiction Film: A Critical History*, refers to documentaries from two Asian countries: India and Japan.

I will focus now on the frequently cited books, *A New History of Documentary Film* (2009) written by Jack C. Ellis and Betsy A. McLane, and *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film* (1993), by Erik Barnouw, because their approaches to the history of the documentary are similar to mine. In addition, I will make a comparison between the development of the Taiwanese documentary in general and the documentary outside Taiwan within the historical contexts of these two books.

The two books use different approaches to describe the history of the documentary. *A New History of Documentary Film* (2009) by Ellis and McLane chronicles and periodises the documentary. It focuses on changes in documentary production modes, the reasons for them, and their impact. In *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film* (1993), Erick Barnouw sees documentaries as a genre of film. He categorizes the documentary by a taxonomy that includes function and production mode, using the categories prophet, explorer, reporter, painter, advocate, and bugler to define the documentaries that emerged in different historical periods. As I explain further below, these books not only provide a useful introduction to the historical development of the documentary, but also provide important historiographical models for me.

2.2.1 Theories of Documentary Film

In this section, I examine the theories related to the definition and categories of documentary film. I focus on Rotha (1952), Nichols (2001), Bruzzi (2006) and Winston (2013), to demonstrate how the definitions and categories of documentary film have changed over time. In addition, I examine the theories on the forms and genres of documentary film in the contemporary documentary-making in western countries. I juxtapose this to the phenomenon of Taiwanese documentary-making.

Defining and Categorising

As already discussed, the definition of documentary and how to categorise it has been controversial in Taiwan due to its peculiar political and social background.

In western countries, the discussion related to the definition and category of documentary film also has its controversial aspects. In the monograph *Documentary Film* (1952), Paul Rotha argues that documentary impels new methods of distribution and exhibition, new forms of education and publicity, and new attitudes towards the materials of cinema, all of which are different from the story-film (Rotha 1952: 70). Rotha claims that the story-film and its nature as entertainment limited cinema's role in strengthening the audience's social and civic conscience. He goes on to contend that the documentary film, as a new form of cinema, by the method of 'creative treatment of actuality' suggested by John Grierson, can bring 'fresh air' to the cinema (ibid.). Rotha acknowledged that 'no documentary can be completely truthful, for there can be no such thing as truth while the changing developments in society continue to contradict each other. Not only this, but technical reasons also preclude the expression of a completely accurate representation' (ibid., 116-7). Therefore, most documentary films are only truthful in their representation of the attitude of the filmmaker's mind (ibid., 117). The 'creative treatment' to documentary relies on the truthful mind to make a documentary film that can represent the so-called reality. Brian Winston indicates the defect of Grierson's well-known definition of documentary film as 'the creative treatment of actuality'. He asserts that after the 'creative treatment', which means artistic legitimacy ('creative') and dramatic structuring ('treatment'), if someone claims that there is any 'actuality' left, that would be naïve and duplicitous (Winston 2008: 13-4). Therefore, documentary film may not simply be seen as the work of presenting actuality materials, but is the filmmaker's subjective representation of reality, composed using filmic techniques.

Regarding the definition of documentary film, as indicated in Chapter 1, in Taiwan, Lee Daw-Ming (1985) introduced the concepts from western countries in his key article, "What is Documentary?" in 1985. As a result, although the definition of documentary film has been controversial in Taiwan ever since, most of the discourses were within the framework of the Griersonian concept due to the tradition of realism and how it shaped ideas about documentary-making.

Regarding the nature of documentary, Bill Nichols (2001) categorises documentary into six modes: Poetic, Expository, Observational, Participatory, Reflexive, and Performative. Nichols adopts the genre theory of cinema for analysing the documentaries in terms of their characteristics and how they have

changed through history. In the article "Analysing the Genre of Taiwanese Documentary---An Investigation Based on Bill Nichols' Six Modes of Documentary" by Wang Wei-Ci (2003), Wang attempts to categorise Taiwanese documentary by Nichols's category. Wang Wei-Ci explains the definition of the six modes and analyses certain amount of Taiwanese documentary as case studies to construct a catalog of sub-genres of Taiwanese documentary, but this is the only significant example of such work so far, and it does not take the Taiwanese case to reflect back on Nichols's categories.

In *New Documentary* (2006), Stella Bruzzi argues that the concept of performance and performativity have become a vital characteristic for defining and categorising documentary film, especially since the rise of docu-auteurs (Bruzzi 2006: 1). Bruzzi criticised Nichols's categories—particularly the Reflexive and Performative modes. She stresses the importance of performativity in relation to documentary. Bruzzi's theory has only rarely been introduced to Chinese readers in Taiwan. In the degree thesis *Filming Taiwan Alternatively: A Study of the Boundaries Blurred by the Cinematic Representations in Floating Islands* by Chen De-Ling (2002), Chen quoted Bruzzi's concept of performative documentary to explain the changing filmic aesthetics of Taiwanese documentary in the documentary *Floating Islands* (see Chapter 7). However, Bruzzi's category of performative documentary has not yet emerged fully in contemporary Taiwanese documentary practice, although the independent production in the mid-1990s aimed to challenge the conventions of Taiwanese documentary in general, and experimented with form to expand the territory of documentary in aesthetic terms

In *The Documentary Film Book* (2013), Winston analyses the characteristics of documentary film and constructs a history of the paradigms of documentary film. He suggests three paradigms of documentary: Griersonian Practice, Vertovian Practice and Post-Griersonian Practice. My research indicates a time lag between the development of documentary in Taiwan and the West. Historically, in Taiwan, there were a few isolated instances that engaged with western innovations in documentary in particular periods. For example, the documentary *Liu Bi-Chia* (1966) connected to the notion of Cinema Vérité for the first time in Taiwan (see Chapter 5), and the Green Team independent video-documentaries in the late 1980s used the techniques of Direct Cinema—observing without intervention, in an effort to reveal the 'truth' (see Chapter 5). However, these were only isolated instances

and did not constitute paradigm shifts. To compare with the historical perspective on documentary elaborated by Winston, most of the development of Taiwanese documentary has been compressed into thirty years since the late 1980s and after the end of Martial law (in 1987). In addition to the long-term influence of martial law, colonial history and other social-political peculiarities mean that the history of the development of documentary in Taiwan cannot be fitted into Winston's pattern without considerable adjustment.

In conclusion, the development of Taiwanese documentary was shaped by changes in available technology, and concepts that originated outside Taiwan, mostly in the West. However, the unique social-political context of Taiwan created distinctive documentary phenomena and historical patterns of adoption and adaptation that I will demonstrate in this thesis.

Form and Genre

The development of Taiwanese documentary after the mid-1990s was dominated by independent production and also revealed various possibilities concerning the form and genre of the documentary-making. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 7, the younger generation of filmmakers used independent documentary-making as a means of cinematic art creation. Within contrast to the conventional understanding of Taiwanese documentary, which saw documentary film as social and political practise, and the tradition of realism in the form of documentary, after the mid-1990s, relatively more forms and genres of documentary emerged.

Laura Rascaroli (2009) and Alisa Lebow (2013) analyse the first-person documentary or first person film. Lebow indicates that first person film becomes a medium for a person who speaks in his/her individual voice not just as a filmed subject, but also in an autobiographical form (Lebow 2013: 257). Rascaroli suggests that the essence of first person filmmaking relates to its autobiographical content; the film contains a private confessional style and links three traditions, which are 'the personal cinema of the avant-gardes, auteur and art cinema, and first-person documentary' (Rascaroli 2009: 106). In the article by Wang Wei-Ci (2003) mentioned above and the article by Huang Yu-Shan (2003), "The Characteristics and the Rise of the Nanyi School of Documentary, 1990-2003",

both of them note the emergence of first person documentary in Taiwan in the 1990s among the younger generation of filmmakers. Indeed, the emergence of first person documentary with the availability of digital amateur video facilities (such as the digital camcorder and PC compatible editing software) was one the most significant characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary after the mid-1990s.

Derek Paget (1998) examines the docudrama in his monograph, *No Other Way to Tell It*. The existing literature indicates use of this form has been rare in Taiwan. In "Re/making Histories: on Historical Documentary Film and *Taiwan: a People's History*" (2012), Lee Daw-Ming explains how a 2007 television series demonstrated the history of Taiwan by re-enacting historical events. The series was produced by Public Television Service (PTS) and does not fall in the range of objects under analysis here (see Chapter 1), but the series reveals that the forms of documentary in Taiwan were more diversified than ever before. In addition, after the mid-1990s, more independent documentarians attempted to experiment, such as with animation, to challenge the tradition of realism in the territory of Taiwanese documentary. For instance, Lin Yu-Xian and Hou Ji-Ran, who had their debut with a short documentary film project supported by PTS, included animation in their work. According to Andy Glynne (2013), non-photographic materials such as animation can also be means of witnessing reality and therefore have documentary value. They can also release documentary from its tradition of observationalism (Glynne 2013: 73). In Taiwan, however, animation was used in documentary for aesthetic reasons as part of the trend to use documentary for cinematic creativity after the mid-1990s (see Chapter 7). So far, no documentary composed entirely of animated images has been produced in Taiwan.

In conclusion, the development of the forms and genres of Taiwanese documentary can connects to theories from western countries to a certain degree. However, the western experience cannot fully reflect the unique characteristics of Taiwanese documentary linked to the changing social-political circumstances, which my research aims to reveal.

2.2.2 The Histories of Documentary Film

In this section, I will examine two frequently cited books about documentary history in general, written from western perspectives, and I will juxtapose the history of Taiwanese documentary to them.

A New History of Documentary Film

A New History of Documentary Film (2009) focuses on English-language documentaries (especially in Great Britain, the United States and Canada) to chronicle the development of the documentary in the evolution of its functions and forms. Ellis and McLane (2009) focus on the production mode of the documentary in countries across different historical periods, with particular emphasis on the period after the 1980s and the innovations made possible with video cameras. The authors claim that changes in technology have transformed the *form* of the documentary. Furthermore, Ellis and McLane also stress the determining force of the commercialization of the broadcasting market. Some situations in the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary are similar to the development of the English-language documentary detailed in their book. For instance, compared with the English-language documentary, the development of the Taiwanese documentary seems to have taken just a couple years more to reach similar circumstances in each period. Ellis and McLane stress the 'social documentary' concept as claimed by John Grierson, to distinguish it from the other non-fiction forms such as educational films, ethnographic films and scientific productions. They argue that the English-language documentary began in 1922 with Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922). However, the word 'documentary' was first conceptualized by Grierson after he saw *Moana* (1926)[6]. Thus, the book chronicles the history of the documentary from 1922 to the late 1990s.

The authors introduce four traditions of documentary identified by Paul Rotha: naturalist (romantic), newsreel, propagandist and continental realist (Rotha

[6] Brian Winston writes that Edward Sheriff Curtis used the terms 'documentary material ' and 'documentary work' referring to the films that Curtis had made by 1914. John Grierson used the phrase 'documentary value' when reviewing *Moana* in 1926 (Winston 2008: 11-12).

1935). These definitions of the documentary help 'categorize' English-language documentaries from 1922 to 1929. However, Ellis and McLane (2009) mention how some countries did not yet develop their own conventions of the documentary in this period. For instance, in the years between 1929 and 1941, Ellis and McLane argue that documentary production became more institutionalized in Great Britain and the United States. For example, the Empire Marketing Board Film Unit (led by Grierson in Britain and the General Post Office) made numerous documentaries for its own needs, and also established the conventions for documentary filmmaking in the 1920s and 1930s in Britain (Ellis & McLane 2009: 60-2). In the United States, documentary filmmaking was involved with political movements. Early documentaries such as *The March of Time* (1936) series, began as a cross between newsreel and documentary in the 1930s. Government documentaries such as *The Plough that Broke the Plains* (1936) and *The River* (1937) also played important roles in that period (ibid., 81-3).

According to the data, in the 1930s in Taiwan, only a few individuals made film clips (as amateur films or home movies) outside of the government-affiliated film studios. These individuals include Liu Na-Ou and Deng Nan-Guang. In terms of the mode of production, I argue that their non-fiction films can be considered precursors of independent filmmaking (see chapter 4). For instance, *The Man With the Camera*, by Liu Na-Ou (1933), was filmed with a 9.5 mm film camera. Filmmaker Deng Nan-Guang, made his non-fictional film clips with an 8 mm camera. However, in contrast to North America and the European countries, at that time, the documentary film was still a vague concept in Taiwan.

Returning to my discussion of *A History of Documentary Film,* in the years between 1941 and 1945, Ellis and McLane (2009) argue that the documentary expanded its importance in each country. In Britain, because of the Second World War, the identification of documentaries with government became significant. The General Post Office Film Unit re-formed as the Crown Film Unit to serve all departments of government in making documentaries; the purpose was to record events of the war and serve the war effort (Ellis & McLane 2009: 105). In Canada, because the representative of the Canadian government in London had become interested in the success of the British documentary during the war, Canada's National Film Board (NFB) was established in 1939. By the end of the war in 1945, the NFB had 700 staff in production and distribution, was making a strong impact

on documentary in Canada (ibid., 126). In America, the government supported wartime documentaries that recorded battles; social documentaries were also developed. For instance, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA) made plenty of documentaries to show aspects of life in the United States to the Latin American countries and vice versa; such efforts served various government needs (ibid., 135-141). In Taiwan, after 1945, at the end of Japanese colonialism, the Kuomintang (KMT) government took over Taiwan. Most of the documentaries in Taiwan were also produced by government organizations as propaganda or newsreels for government needs (Wang Wei-Chi 2006: 10). Taiwan Film Studio--established by the government to produce newsreels--released a series every two weeks and screened them in select theatres. Arguably, this period can be seen as the 'institutionalization period' of the Taiwanese documentary. Similar to the UK, Canada, and US, documentary development in Taiwan also saw significant government influence. In the late 1940s, the civil war between the KMT led by Chiang Kai-Shek and the Chinese Communists led by Mao pushed the KMT to retreat to Taiwan in 1949. The government film studios followed them. In October of 1949, the Chinese Communists in Beijing established The People's Republic of China (PRC). Martial law in Taiwan started during the same year. In this period, governmental film studios made non-fiction films primarily in the form of newsreels, educational films and propaganda. Films about ordinary life and social issues were rare. Domination by voiceover produced a problematic cinematic style lacking in emotional engagement for spectators (Lee Daw-Ming 2006: 170).

In English-language documentaries, after the Second World War until the 1970s, Ellis and McLane (2009) argue that television made the most significant impact on the development of the documentary. Television made 'more documentary and related types of public information programs shown to larger audiences than at other times in history' (Ellis & McLane 2009: 180)'. The authors discuss some key characteristics of television documentaries during this period. First, they suggest that most documentaries were based on newsworthy subjects or events of interest to audiences, widening the range of documentary subjects compared to before. Here, the authors introduce some mass communication theories to support their ideas. For example, the concept of 'cool' and 'hot' media explains the difference between television documentaries and those shown in movie theatres (McLuhan 1964). Ellis and McLane (2009) also describe another characteristic of

the television documentary: the small-scale documentary. These documentaries are often centred on individual values rather than on material concerns.

The use of commentary is also different in television documentaries compared to earlier documentaries; sync sound and interviews are used much more extensively than before (ibid., 191). However, the fixed time of television resulted in some constraints. On one hand, there was insufficient time available to deal adequately with a subject. On the other hand, 'padding' was required to fill out the half hour or hour even though less time would have been sufficient (ibid., 193).

In the 1970s, Ellis and McLane also note that the non-theatrical market, such as schools, libraries, universities, prisons and even airlines, using 16 mm filmmaking equipment, began emerging in the United States, allowing independent filmmakers to work outside of the established Hollywood and New York institutions. A younger generation of filmmakers was trained by the education system and without any direct social and political experience of the 1960s. Their documentaries were more likely to include personal elements and demonstrate creative expression than had been common before (ibid., 228).

In contrast, in Taiwan, in the 1960s and 1970s, the documentary rarely broke away from being a form of propaganda or newsreels under government control. 16 mm filmmaking equipment was relatively difficult to access for ordinary people, and was more commonly available to professionals who worked for government-affiliated television stations and film studios. The only exceptions were independently made films such as *Liu Bi-Jia* (1966) made by Chen Yao-Qi, and *Yan* (1966) and *The Child* (1967) made by Zhuang Ling. Before independent documentary filmmaking emerged in the late 1980s, I suggest that these documentarians were early examples of Taiwanese independent documentary (see Chapter 5).

In the 1980s, Ellis and McLane argue that the technology of film production, from film to video, changed the form and format of the documentary (ibid., 258). The inexpensive video and easy-to-use digital camera led many individuals, who otherwise would never have thought that they could have a chance to make a film, towards creating their own documentaries (ibid., 262). Ellis and McLane cite Pat Aufderheide to explain these as 'personal essay' documentaries. This is a genre where the narrator takes clear ownership of the narration, and at the same time, the narrator is a character (ibid.).

In the early 1980s, the Taiwanese documentary also developed new aspects. Although government censorship still controlled television programmes, the camcorder changed documentary production. Furthermore, the topics of television documentary series included more cultural issues and ordinary people's lives, reflecting issues of social concern and departing from government propaganda (Lu Feii 2001: 1, 10, 25). Social movement groups such as the Green Team also started to make documentaries independently, using ideas similar to guerrilla television in America and militant cinema in France in the 1960s and 1970s.Ellis and McLane (2009) also describe some trends of English-language documentaries from the late 20th to early 21st centuries. Since more people can make documentaries due to the increased accessibility of technology in contrast to 16 mm or even Betacam productions, small crews have become sufficient to make documentaries even for major television projects. Low skill and budget requirements have made the field of individual documentary filmmaking much more accessible, too (Ellis & McLane 2009: 294). This production mode has also led to some new genres of documentary. For example, 'reality TV' shows filmed with digital cameras on low budgets have become quite popular with audiences. However, although the number of television hours for documentaries has actually increased, there has been a marked decline in the overall quality of most television documentaries (ibid.). Circumstances in the United Kingdom are different. Most television documentarians share a common background; 'university education at the "right" school led directly into apprenticeship programmes in television' (ibid., 304). Such programmes encouraged a high standard of documentary filmmaking skill, which is evident in the continued production of quality documentary television programmes. Furthermore, government-supported broadcasting allows many socially critical documentaries to appear regularly on television, which maintained a critical and independent concept of the documentary.

In Taiwan, in the same period, individual documentary filmmaking also became a popular phenomenon. As I will detail in Chapter 7, the popularity of individual documentary filmmaking was a key characteristic of the Taiwanese independent documentary in this period. More distinctively, documentarians also made artistic independent documentaries as calling cards for future careers in the film industry. As the domestic feature film industry declined, the Taiwanese independent documentary became a substitute. Furthermore, institutions of higher

education established schools of documentary production, training graduate students in documentary filmmaking. Therefore, plenty of students use digital facilities to make individual documentaries (Han Xu-Er 2001: 130). Such documentaries can be described as 'academic documentaries' in their innovative uses of technology and mode of production (ibid.). Lu Feii (2001) also claims that because the filmmakers have academic training, they may be more willing to engage with philosophical contradictions and brave more experimental formats of documentary filmmaking. The appearance of these documentaries continues to impact the aesthetic of the Taiwanese documentary (Lu Feii 2001: 14).

Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film

In *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film*, Erick Barnouw categorises documentaries into different modes according to their stages of development in various parts of the world. He focuses mostly on European countries, Northern America, a few Asian countries and the U.S.S.R.). Barnouw also defines the common characteristics of the documentary in different historical periods. Interestingly, Barnouw categorises documentaries under titles such as: prophet, explorer, and reporter. I have found Barnouw's approach helpful for my research as it constructs the history of the documentary and also reveals common characteristics of documentaries across different historical periods. However, Barnouw's approach does not specifically examine the independent documentary. Therefore, in my research, I adapt Barnouw's approach to explore the Taiwanese independent documentary in the context of Taiwan's own history. Specifically, I take the mode of production as my primary approach for analysing the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary (see Chapter 3).

Barnouw begins his discussion of history from the late 19th century, or pre-documentary period. Barnouw points out that the earliest films, the Lumiere Brothers' films, are seen as documentaries. He uses a chronological style to establish the history of the documentary, revealing their features in different periods as influenced by the social environment. Barnouw attempts to tell a history of the

documentary in general and is less interested in critiquing or analyzing the documentaries in different periods.

To conclude, existing research that specifically discusses the independent Taiwanese documentary is quite rare, whether Chinese-language or English-language. Although prior literature has mentioned the term 'independent documentary', the term has not been sufficiently elaborated on. In addition, some research uses terms such as minority medium and popular documentary to indicate the form of documentary filmmaking in specific periods. However, I argue that these documentary films can be considered independent documentaries in Taiwan from a historical perspective and closer analysis of their production modes. In the next chapter, I will discuss how I use the method of film historiography to support my arguments and construct the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary.

Chapter 3:
Methods: Film Historiography

Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss my research method, and explain how it has supported my overall analysis. I will (i) discuss the method of *film historical analysis* from an approach of *film historiography* through specific historical studies of film; and (ii) explain how I engage with the method of film historiography to evaluate the materials that I collected from the research field, including literature, documentaries and interviews. With these methodological approaches and materials, I construct a history of the Taiwanese independent documentary. In doing so, I aim to reveal a new definition of the Taiwanese independent documentary and describe its characteristics.

Thompson and Bordwell (1994) argue that film history establishes the historian's arguments through an examination of historical material or evidence (which I will describe in more detail later). Through such materials/evidence, I will disclose my research arguments. My aim is to construct a critical history of the Taiwanese independent documentary. This analysis will discuss the specific *characteristics* of the Taiwanese independent documentary, and how its production is connected to social and political circumstances. I will shape my analysis of the historical narrative chronologically by drawing on primary source materials (e.g. interviews, un-published documents and independent documentaries), and re-interpreting the existing literature from a critical perspective. I aim to explain the causes and effects of the Taiwanese independent documentary's appearance within different time periods and examine its changing characteristics; to elaborate on how the independent documentary is fashioned by changing social and political environments; and to adopt a historical perspective that examines changes in documentary production modes related to Taiwan's society and politics; and

finally, to reveal the shape, characteristics and broad 'territory' of the Taiwanese independent documentary.

As I will explain further below, there are various arguments concerned with researching and writing film history, such as those found in *Film History: Theory and Practice* (1985), *Film History: An Introduction* (1994), *Film Histories: An Introduction and Reader* (2007), and *How to Read a Film* (Chapter 4; 2009). In *Film History: Theory and Practice*, Allen and Gomery (1985) introduce Realism as their theoretical frame for writing a film history, and demonstrate four traditional approaches: Aesthetic Film History, Technological Film History, Economic Film History and Social Film History. In *Film History: An Introduction*, Thompson and Bordwell (1994) introduce concepts of film historical explanation and organizational methods such as Chronology, Causality, Influence, Trends and Generalizations and Periods. In *Film Histories: An Introduction and Reader*, Grainge, Jancovich and Monteith demonstrate how to construct film histories by Allen and Gomery's approaches in general. In *How to Read a Film*, Monaco suggests that most of film history has been organized according to the three principle forces involved: economics, politics, and aesthetics. But none of these factors is ultimately the dominant approach.

I adopt the historical approach of Allen and Gomery's (1985) *Film History: Theory and Practice* and also Thompson and Bordwell's (1994) approach in *Film History: An Introduction* (1994) as my main methodological approaches. I will detail the reasons why I adopt their methods and later explain how I engage my research with these approaches.

Apart from film historiography, the approach I use to analyse the transition of documentary production modes is adopted from Lu Feii (2001) and Han Xu-Er (2001) (see Chapter 2). Lu and Han chronicle the history of the Taiwanese documentary and newsreel through different periods by tracing the development of different modes of production. Previous research on the Taiwanese independent documentary has relied on existing literature, databases and documents. Previous researchers have, of course, tried to interpret these materials from their own perspective. In contrast, while I have also used existing literature and databases, my research draws extensively on new primary materials including interviews with documentarians and my viewing of their works (whether publicly released or not). In addition, I discuss independent documentary development after the mid-1990s,

especially from the early 2000s to present. This represents the coverage of "new ground", as little existing research focuses on the development of the Taiwanese documentary after 2000.

To write a chronological history and examine the characteristics of the independent documentary in different periods requires a breakdown of periods, and an analysis of the characteristics in documentary productions. However, as Thompson and Bordwell indicate, historians need to limit the stretch of time that they explore, and need to break down history into meaningful terms and segments. The periodization cannot be rigid because the trends do not follow in a neat order (Thompson and Bordwell 1994: 7). Therefore, the changes in the most significant characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary have formed the basis for definitions of specific periods. However, Taiwanese independent documentaries with similar characteristics will not completely disappear after a period has finished: there is always overlap.

3.1 Film Historiography

In this section, I will examine the method of film historiography and how I approach my research. I strongly emphasize the work of Allen and Gomery (1985) and Thompson and Bordwell (1994). I will examine Allen and Gomery's concept of Realism as my theoretical frame of historiography. Furthermore, I also consider social film history as an integral part of understanding the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary. In addition, I will examine Thompson and Bordwell's approach (which offers a method of explaining, organising, and managing collected historical materials), and how my research will engage with this approach. Furthermore, in later sections (see section 3.2), I will describe the materials that I have collected and how I have learned from them in order to construct histories in more detail.

3.1.1 Social Film History

Film history has become a branch of film study. Since the 1910s, there have been books published as 'film histories', but which fail to question the nature of film history itself (Allen & Gomery 1985: 4). Until now, there have been numerous film history books. Each of these seem to expect readers to understand what film history is. However, this raises important questions: Does one really understand what film history means and what kind of history is mentioned in the books? Film history involves the work of historical explanations, so it cannot escape the questions and tests posed by the methods of film historiography.

The job of a historian is to collect and organize historical evidence. We may assume that a historian can arrange the historical evidence properly, so it 'speaks for itself'. In *What is History*?, E. H. Carr (2001) implies that these assumptions misunderstand history and the role of the historian. Carr defines 'the fact' in history as 'a fact of the past' and 'a historical fact'. He argues that everything that has ever happened in the past can be seen as 'fact', and can become a source of historical data. However, it is impossible for history to consist of every fact from a knowable

past. A fact from the ‘past’ becomes a historical fact when a historian decides to use it to construct a historical analysis. Through this concept, Carr indicates that the role of the historian is not only a ‘collector and passive transmitter of the facts’. He suggests that a historian is one who can choose historical facts from the available historical data. The facts of the past do not ‘speak for themselves’; the historian makes them speak as part of a historical argument (Carr 2001: 7-9).

Carr argues that the philosophical perspective of empiricism drives most people who enquire about the nature of history. He suggests that empiricist history is 'common sense' history. It conforms to what our common sense tells us historical explanation must be like. The basic premise of empiricist history comes from our everyday experience of accounts of the past, with no sense of metaphor, since all events did actually occur in the ‘past’. Furthermore, when we try to explain a phenomenon we cannot directly observe, the more the facts relate to what we collect, then the more certain we are about the phenomenon's true nature, and a greater certainty regarding what really happened then (ibid., 12).

In Carr's arguments about the role of the historian, a question about these concepts resounds regarding what is considered 'objective' and valued as 'neutral'. Carr suggests that there is no objective historical truth:

> ‘…the historical interpretation plays a necessary part in establishing the fact of history, and because no existing interpretation is wholly objective, one interpretation is as good as another, and the facts of history are in principle not amenable to objective interpretation’ (ibid., 21).

Thus, when reading history, we should listen for the ‘buzz’ of the historian’s interpretive position; the argument as to how the pieces of data link together. Carr said, ‘When you read a work of history, always listen out for the buzzing. If you can detect none, either you are tone deaf or your historian is a dull dog’ (ibid., 26). Thus, no matter how independent a historian is,

> ‘…like other individuals, he is also a social phenomenon, both the product and the conscious or unconscious spokesman of the society to which he belongs; it is in this capacity that he approaches the facts of the history past’ (ibid., 29).

Engaging with film historiography (and to face this debate about 'objectivity'), Allen and Gomery argue that despite historians' innate subjectivity, empiricist historians assert that history must still produce verifiable information about the past. They argue that historians face similar problems as scientists. Thus, historians should try to examine and explain history through scientific means (Allen & Gomery 1985: 9). However, in the empiricist model of science, experimental situations are always established as closed systems in which all conditions must be controlled. Furthermore, scientists are concerned about the result of the experiment. To the scientists, the facts speak for themselves. But, what facts also reveal is how the experimental is limited to 'the recognition of regular, predictable relationships between isolated events in controlled situations' (Allen & Gomery 1985: 10). It is different from a historian who tries to explain the situation beyond or behind observable phenomena using a scientific approach. In addition, Allen and Gomery claim that the historian observes the phenomenon under study in a much less direct means than conventional scientists. Historians can only trace what remains of the historical event. But this should not prevent historians from explaining the past as much as possible using scientific knowledge and empirical approaches (ibid.).

Moreover, Allen and Gomery argue that, science has emerged as a new philosophy: Realism. It offers the prospect of an approach to history that preserves the notion of an independently existing past, while taking into account the necessity and complexity of theory in historical explanation. Realism takes as its starting point a fundamental agreement with empiricism. Realism claims that there is a world that exists independently of the scientist; it sees the goal of science as an explanation of the world. So the theories must be assessed by reference to the 'real' world. Therefore, the realist believes that the explanation of reality is limited to two parts: First, Realism conceives of reality as a one-dimensional realm of observable phenomena. Second, a description of regularity is not an explanation of what causes the regularity. That is, the reality is only partially observable. The observable phenomena represent only one of the dimensions of the whole structure (Allen & Gomery 1985: 14). To compare, Allen and Gomery adopt Bhaskar's (1978) concept suggesting that we can see how the empiricist simply describes the event as the effect of processes and mechanisms at work. In contrast, the realist not only observes the event but also describes the working of the generative mechanisms that produced the observable events (Allen & Gomery 1985: 15). Realism therefore

takes as its object of study the structures or mechanisms that cause observable phenomena. The Realist insists that every theory carries with it a set of implications and assumptions derived from culture, language and the governing scientific paradigm at a given time. Furthermore, this approach also sees the act of scientific investigation as carrying its own implications and assumptions. Therefore, a Realist approach contends that a theory should be internally logical, consistent and coherent. However, Allen and Gomery adopt Keat and Urry's (1975) concept suggesting that, in the end, a theory must be tested by external criteria, as 'scientific theories must be objectively assessed by reference to empirical evidence. This evidence is such that all scientists who are competent, honest, and lacking in perceptual deficiencies can then agree upon the findings' (Keat and Urry 1975: 44), (though they are not necessarily acting or required to act with total certainty).

Allen and Gomery claim that the Realist approach is especially applicable to the history of film. They suggest that this approach to film history can view the past as having an existence independent of the historian and would regard historical evidence as a partial and mediated record of this past (Allen & Gomery 1985: 16). They adopt the notion from Bhaskar (1978), who says that the world of history consists of mechanisms, not events. The historical event is thus the result of various factors. The generative mechanisms of history operate at a number of levels and with uneven force. Then, it becomes the historian's job to understand these mechanisms in their complexity rather than to isolate a single cause for a given event. Therefore, the Realist approach to film history is also suitable for the open system concept that contrasts with the closed system concept from scientific approaches. Film is a complex historical phenomenon, and has participated in many networks of relationships, such as technology, art forms, economics and so on. In reality, film can be seen as an open system. It cannot be separated from other systems. The Realist approach to film history insists that historical explanations can be tested by reference to both historical evidence and to other, competing explanations. In the book, Allen and Gomery do not mention other approaches for film historical methods except Realism. However, Allen and Gomery also remind us that Realism is not the only approach for film historical method, 'but rather [as] one way of approaching the complexities of film history' (ibid., 17).

Besides using Realism as a theoretical framework for the history of film, Allen and Gomery introduce four approaches to construct it. They argue that

traditionally, film history has been thought of as one of the three major branches of film study: film theory, film criticism and film history. The boundaries between these three branches are blurred, but most of the academic institutes divided film study in this way (ibid., 4). In the past, film history, to some film historians, simply suggested a study of films. Most historians view film as an art form and merely see film history as a changing of aesthetics, or the study of the auteur. Such approaches simplify film history. They fail to reveal a complete picture of film as much more than a collection of individual films. 'Hence, any definition of film history must recognize that the development of film involves changes in film as a specific technology, film as an industry, film as a system of visual and auditory representation, and film as a social institution' (ibid., 37). This notion suggests that four major areas are important for film historical investigation: aesthetic film history, technological film history, economic film history and social film history.

Specifically, aesthetic film history sees cinema as an art form. This perspective argues that the historian should examine and evaluate the films of the past according to the aesthetic significance of the films themselves, regardless of their mode of production or reception (ibid., 67-8). Technological film history involves the study of the origins and development of technology that makes possible the creation and presentation of films. How did this technology come to be? Why did changes in cinematic technology occur and why did they appear at a specific historical point? How did the technological state of cinema in those given times condition the ways in which films could be used for different functions? Asking such questions clarifies the role of technology in film history (ibid., 109-110).

Economic film history is concerned with asking questions concerned with the finances of film development and its production decisions (e.g. 'how' and 'why' producers and/or stakeholders invest in a certain film). For instance, feature films are typically 'big budget' productions, and often involve a complex interaction of these decisions. Furthermore, such financial issues also concern what kinds of equipment can be bought or rented, how processing is paid for, what types of prints are made and so forth (ibid., 131-4). Indeed, what I am analysing here also concerns how each film emerges from the milieux of its particular economic context.

Social film history is concerned with who makes the film and what decisions are made by studios or individuals, with an emphasis on the *social*

functions served by the film's release. Much social film history research has typically dealt with individual film content as a reflection of social values and attitudes. Thus, social film history always asks questions about 'who' made the film and 'why'? also, who saw the films, where did they see them, and why? What did they see? (ibid., 154-8)

In addition, in *How to Read a Film*, Monaco (2009) suggests that most of film history has been organized according to three principle forces: economics, politics (including integration with psychology and sociology), and aesthetics. But none of these factors is ultimately dominant. Monaco argues that,

> 'like any other art, only more so because of its all-encompassing and popular nature, film reflects changes in the social contract. That is why it is useful to look first at the economic and technological foundations of the medium (what economists and historians call its "infrastructure"), then to discuss some of the major political, social and psychological implications of the art (its "structure"), and finally to conclude with a survey of the history of film aesthetics (its "superstructure")' (Monaco 2009: 256).

Thus, Monaco is arguing that a historical analysis of film should also discuss the surrounding factors of social and cultural circumstances.

In response to the four major areas (aesthetic, technology, economic, social) of historical investigation, my research question asks: what is the definition of the Taiwanese independent documentary and what are its characteristics? I will set out my arguments on the Taiwanese independent documentary's emergence in society from a historical perspective. I argue that the changing characteristics of the Taiwanese independent documentary have been influenced by the changes in social and political circumstances over time. Hence, through the method of social film history suggested by Allen and Gomery (1985), I pursue the following questions in terms of the mode of production to construct this history: Who made these independent films and what was their rationale for making them? What audiences saw these films, and how did they perceive them?

I aim to construct a history that examines the mode of production in Taiwanese independent documentary-making that shows the influence of social and political circumstances, the background of the film and television industry, government policy and other aspects related to social and political contexts in

Taiwan. I will demonstrate the changing characteristics of the Taiwanese independent documentary. I adopt the concept of Realism and social film history approach to elaborate my research. In terms of Realism, the history of the independent documentary in Taiwan does not only involve a 'cause and effect' historical narrative, but is connected to the entire environment of Taiwan; this 'connection' refers to the mechanism of an 'open system', as indicated by Bhaskar (1978). Taiwanese society can be seen as a 'mechanism' that influences how independent documentaries have been made due to changing historical terms and conditions. Each independent documentary film that I discuss in this thesis reveals the very transformation of the 'Taiwanese independent documentary' in both the past and present. Therefore, my role as a historian is to understand the transformation of the Taiwanese independent documentary within the milieu of a complex society as a 'mechanism' (rather than studying the independent documentary as an isolated and single effect of a particular 'event' or incident). I interpret existing materials from the past and also collect new primary materials (such as interviews and newly released documentaries), to assemble a series of historical facts, which I then analyse. The film history that I construct will interpret the emergence of the Taiwanese independent documentary as a system that engages Taiwanese society.

3.1.2 Historical Explanation and Organization Methods

Besides the approaches from Allen and Gomery, I also adopt the concept of film historiography from Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell. In this section, I will first examine the concept of film historiography as a research method in order to demonstrate the arguments made by historians. This also means looking at the methods they offer to construct histories through attempts to explain and organise the materials collected from research. Then, I will demonstrate how my research links with these approaches.

As Thompson and Bordwell indicate in *Film History: An Introduction* (1994), most historians attempt to describe and explain a process or state of affairs, and then reveal their arguments or hypotheses via historical narration. Thus, history is not merely about the 'facts' of the past, but also becomes a form that can

establish the historian's arguments through the examination of historical material—the evidence that has been collected by the historian to support specific arguments. Although historians always have a specific motive for writing history, the choices made by these historians can also strengthen their research arguments (Thompson & Bordwell 1994: 4).

In *Film History: An Introduction*, Thompson and Bordwell (1994) pursue three principle questions as their approach to film history: (i) How have uses of the film medium changed or become normalized over time?; (ii) How have the conditions of the film industry—production, distribution, and exhibition—affected the use of the medium?; and (iii) How have international trends emerged in the uses of the film medium and in the film market? (ibid., p.7-8). Thompson and Bordwell introduce five concepts of film historical explanation and organization methods: Chronology, Causality, Influence, Trends and Generalizations and Periods, which enable the construction of arguments regarding film in terms of historical perspective as a narrative form (ibid., 9).

Thompson and Bordwell argue that film history needs to explain the past by organizing filmic evidence (a concept I will explain in Section 3.2). Finding the answer to arguments and assumptions raised by film historians needs both description and an explanation of the materials collected by the researcher. A film historian needs to understand the knowledge of film and be able to arrange the evidence properly to support his or her arguments about the film's history (ibid., 2). Chronology offers an essential historical explanatory framing, and descriptive research is an indispensable aid to establishing the sequence of events. However, history is much more than mere chronology. Thus, film history cannot merely be analysed from the perspective of an arrangement of historical events. Film history also needs to engage the explanations from film historians' perspectives along with supporting evidence (ibid., 5). In addition, Thompson and Bordwell extend their discussion of film history by suggesting that there are different types of explanations in film history. These include biographical history, which focuses on an individual's life history; industrial or economic history, which focuses on business practices; aesthetic history of film art (form, style, genre and so on); technological history (the materials and film equipment); and social/culture/political history that is concerned with the role of cinema in larger society (ibid.).

Causality is the concept of historical research that is used to emphasize and explain the cause and effect of historical facts arranged by the historian. There are two kinds of causes: Individual Causes and Group Causes. Some historians believe that all historical explanations must appeal to person-based causes. The notion is usually adopted from methodological individualism. It assumes that the individual not only creates history, but can also make historical change (ibid., p.6). The individual can be seen as part of the whole, so '…the individual is understood in the total, and the total from the individual' (Droysen 1967: 14). The Group Causes means that people often act in groups, and groups have rules and roles, structures and routines. In film historical research, we may see film studios, social environments and political circumstances as the 'group' (Thompson and Bordwell 1993: 6).

The notion of 'influence' used to be applied when historians wanted to explain change. Influence, in these cases, describes the inspiration that an individual, a group or a film can provide others (ibid.). Thompson and Bordwell argue, however, that influence does not mean simply considering films or filmic-related behaviours (ibid.). The 'cause' of environments (for instance, production mode, governmental policy, economic circumstances, which both surrounds and is surrounded by film), can create 'influence'. Influences are particular kinds of causes, so influence can involve both individual activity and group activity within the territory of film (ibid.).

Thompson and Bordwell indicate that the film historian needs to look for the data, omit certain material, and try to find out the Trends and Generalizations of history. The historical record is always incomplete, as some events are un-recorded and some documents are lost forever. The job of the historian is to reduce the 'messy' complications of history into a more coherent and cogent story. 'A historian simplifies and streamlines according to the question he is pursuing' (ibid.).

Historical chronology and causation is a process without a certain beginning or end. Establishing a chronological 'period' means that historians need to limit the stretch of time that they explore and therefore turn historical breakdown into meaningful terms and segments. 'Periodization' cannot be rigid because the trends do not follow a neat order (ibid., 7).

In my research, I adopt Thompson and Bordwell's approaches to explain and organise historical materials to construct a history of the Taiwanese

independent documentary. Through the Chronology approach, I construct the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary in Taiwan by chronicling the sequences of historical facts (events) and critically examining them. I also focus on the relationship between societal transitions and the change of production modes within Taiwan as important ways to discuss film history. In terms of approaches involving 'Causality' and 'Influence' approach within film historical research, I agree with Thompson and Bordwell's argument that sees film studios, social environments and political circumstances as a 'group'. Thus, the 'cause' of environments can 'cause' influence. I see the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary in terms of group causes. I argue that the documentarians in different historical periods acted in groups, and that the groups had rules and roles, structures and routines. The group's behaviour—independent documentary-making—was influenced by the political and social circumstances (thereby demonstrating its 'Causality'), in certain periods. Therefore, the mode of production is linked to the surrounding environments. I suggest that the characteristics of the Taiwanese independent documentary in each historical period mark the appearance of particular 'trends' and 'generalizations' requiring analysis within my discussion of independent documentary-making. Since I am writing a chronological history, and examining the characteristics of the Taiwanese independent documentary in different periods, my work requires a historical breakdown into several periods. This effort requires analysing the distinguishing characteristics of documentary productions. My analysis notes how Taiwanese independent documentaries with similar characteristics do not completely disappear after the end of a given period. Instead, some types persist, and exhibit similar concepts as they did before when later emerging in or from different periods.

3.2 The Materials for Historiography

In this section, I will examine the materials that I collected in my research and discuss how I have used them to construct the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary.

As Thompson and Bordwell argue, film history explains the past through the organization of filmic evidence. 'Filmic evidence' is the evidence that 'consists of information that gives grounds for believing that the argument is sound. Evidence supports the expectation that the (film) historian has presented a plausible answer to the original questions (Thompson and Bordwell 1994: 4)'. The filmic evidence can include, for instance, film copies, print sources (such as published books, magazines, and journals), un-published memoirs, production files, and notes.

In my research, the filmic evidence—historical materials—consists of: (i) written materials; (ii) independent documentary films; (iii) interviews with and documents gathered from Taiwanese independent documentarians. As I will detail in the following sections, the literature consists of academic research within databases, theses and periodical articles, sections of books, magazines and newspaper articles, Internet essays, and un-published documents or files. My research analysis does not only include pre-existing published literature. Significantly, my research also includes the collection and analysis of unpublished documents and files. These unpublished works are unique as they have been generated by activities connected to the actual process of independent documentary-making (for example, documentary workshops). In fact, I personally collected these documents as my primary research materials and analysed them, in order to form and support my arguments in this thesis.

The independent documentary films that I have collected consist of documentaries that (a) have been released officially (b) documentaries that are preserved in the film archives, and (c) documentaries that have never been released commercially, and have not yet been collected by the film archives for any purpose after first being shown to the public. These rare documentaries in '(c)' can only be collected by personal contact directly with the filmmakers/documentarians. The

primary interviews I conducted with these filmmakers and documents I collected are vital to my thesis research. Most of the documentarians that engaged with the production of Taiwanese independent documentaries after the 1980s are still alive. Thus, my thesis aims to offer empirical contributions to the field through these interviews. Furthermore, the interviews I have conducted can also contribute to offering an important resource within film databases for future scholarship.

The urgency of my research concerns the lack of data and scholarship about the Taiwanese documentary sector. Compared with the large volume of documentary productions in the past three decades, the academic research regarding the Taiwanese documentary is not rich (Cai Chong-Long 2009: 5). Film scholar Lu Feii affirms this, indicating that, before the year 2001, '…research concerning the Taiwanese documentary and the database of related literature is weak (Lu Feii 2001: 3)'.

The documentary as a genre of film is mostly seen within social contexts. In my main approach to analysing the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary, I attempt to construct a history from the perspective of the documentary's mode of production. However, I also discuss the how production is influenced by the socio-political circumstances and the motivations of filmmakers.

Written Materials

The database that contains existing research about the Taiwanese documentary (which I discuss within my research) is a project that was launched in 1997 and completed in 2000. It was a project that was conducted by Lee Daw-Ming, Wang Wei-Ci, Zhang Chang-Yan and Lu Feii, and supported by the Council of Cultural Affairs in Taiwan. This project created a database of Taiwanese documentaries and newsreels that collected archives from as early as the Japanese period and included collections as recent as the year 2000. Significantly, this project was the first known initiative to conduct and collect historical research (of any kind) about the Taiwanese documentary. Based on this database, I examine existing archival material and investigate elements of the independent documentary in Taiwan. In particular, I focus on the period before the mid-1990s. Unfortunately, documents concerning the Taiwanese documentary after the year 2000 lack any sort

of organised data, which has made it quite difficult to find them. Consequently, I decided to collect text documents during my field research through public and closed access libraries, on-line databases, existing publications regarding Taiwanese film and documentary, and also through my personal contacts.

The books written on the history of the Taiwanese documentary are also important to my research. However, there is no specific, published monograph on the history of the Taiwanese documentary in Taiwan at present (2013). Most of the documents related to Taiwanese documentary history exist in the databases of Taiwanese film history or Chinese film history before 1945. Unfortunately, both types of database spread out the material in ways that also make data from these sources difficult to collect. Furthermore, relevant theses concerning the history of the Taiwanese documentary are rare. While the articles that do exist are related to the history of the Taiwanese documentary, they only discuss general issues concerning documentaries, and lack discussion on specific aspects of it such as independent documentary.

In spite of the lack of available materials concerning the Taiwanese independent documentary, there is one book that has collected interviews with documentarians. It is called *Love, Hate and Gloom: Interviews with Taiwanese Middle Generation Documentarians* (2009). In 2012, another book called, *Beyond the Viewfinder: A Collective Portrait of Taiwanese Documentarians* was published. Written by Lin Cong-Yu, it contains five interviews with Taiwanese documentarians and is a portrait of contemporary documentarians in Taiwan. These two published books did not aim to construct a history of the Taiwanese documentary, but they do supplement my own research.

Essays in newspapers, magazines and Internet websites can be seen as 'pre-academic' literature in my research. Since the 1990s, the documentary has grown into a phenomenon in Taiwan. Numerous magazine and newspaper essays discuss the Taiwanese documentary, as do critiques of documentary film made by amateurs. The Internet, e-newspapers and blogs have become important platforms for debates and critiques about documentaries, and sources of information about local documentary screenings. Since most independent documentaries have no regular and official release system, this online trend has been an important, alternative approach for broadcasting documentary information. In addition, the

government has constructed websites related to Taiwanese cinema, such as *Taiwan Cinema Note*[7] and *Taiwan Cinema*[8].

Although Internet data can be considered a rich source of information for research, documents collected online, of course, raise problematic questions about reliability. I argue that such Internet documents are mostly personal perspectives that are not based in evidence. Such online documents also lack scholarly engagement, where academic debate/controversy is notably absent. Consequently, Internet-related modes of data are considered minor resources within my research. Despite their problems within academic research, however, Internet-based essays, can nonetheless serve a useful purpose within historical research. Through a critical analysis and rigorous interrogation of the information, I contend that relevant historical facts can still emerge from seemingly minor materials derived from these Internet sources.

To conclude, my aim through my analysis is to examine the historical database from a methodological approach that privileges an evidence-based objectivity. To do this, I begin my research from the databases themselves. I thoroughly investigate their collections for relevant documents about Taiwanese documentaries for my analysis. During these early steps of the research, (such as when I have noted a document of interest and collected it from the database), I argue that it is vitally important to examine the accuracy of the literature and the database itself, regardless of whether it is considered primary information or a direct quotation (Ye Zhi-Cheng 2000). The original source of the document may influence the research literature positively or negatively. To clarify what I mean by this, one can consider official government records. For instance, a document originating from these official government records is generally considered 'reliable'. However, these government records may, in fact, contain (or lack) some hidden negative information due to issues of censorship from the authorities. This problem causes the research to 'speak' from a narrow point of view (Zhong Na-Lun 1992: 153). Moreover, some research reports contain biases or particular motivations, since the government or commercial organizations support them.

[7] The website of 'Taiwan Cinema Note' was supported by Council of Cultural Affairs (after May 2012, CCA upgraded becoming Ministry of Culture.)

[8] The website of 'Taiwan Cinema' was supported by Government Information Office (after May 2012, the GIO was merged into the Ministry of Culture).

Consequently, specific points of view outside of the official voice or purposes are left behind. When analysing such literature, there is a need to be careful (ibid.).

Government statistics about independent documentaries are rare in Taiwan. The *nature* of the independent documentary means that it has been made outside of the system. Consequently, the availability of governmental statistics about these documentaries is weak (see Chapter 1).

Independent Documentary Films

Other important sources for my historical research are the independent documentary films themselves. However, there are limitations in one's attempts to collect independent documentaries in Taiwan. A lack of regular and official approaches to watching or buying independent documentaries have led to difficulties in attempts to collect copies of these films. Because independent documentaries are rarely released commercially through film copies, digital video, or compact disc markets, most of these films can only be seen through specific documentary film festivals or screenings organised by documentarians themselves. However, a recent technological development has been video-on-demand or multimedia-on-demand systems that have offered independent documentarians a new platform to release their works. Unfortunately, according to my personal observation, while I was collecting research material, such modes of releasing film to the public have not yet become popular with Taiwanese independent documentarians; the reason for this lack of popularity requires future research.

Furthermore, in terms of access within public libraries or film archives, since independent documentaries have not been released through conventional approaches historically (such as VHS or DVD markets), finding such films in these spaces is also rare. One key approach is to inquire with individual filmmakers, who may offer a copy of their documentary directly; this is often the most effective way to gather materials.

What is available in the film archives is access to most of the existing Taiwanese documentary films made before the 1980s, including some un-released home movies (such as amateur independent documentaries made in the 1930s,

including Liu Na-Ou and Deng Nan-Guang's works)[9]. In Taiwan, film archiving remains the territory of government and the higher education system, with most of the unreleased Taiwanese independent documentaries being made before the 1990s and preserved in the Taipei film archives. A peculiar case involves the independent video documentaries made by the Green Team in the late 1980s to early 1990s (approximately 300 videos). These films are preserved and digitalised by the Newsreel and Documentary Film Archives in the Tainan National University of the Arts (TNUA) in south Taiwan. Although the film Archives in TNUA are not officially open for public access, I was allowed to access the database for research purposes (July 2011)[10]. I gained the archives' permission through contact with the head of the archives (Professor Jing Ying-Rui) directly.

Another difficulty is that the official Taiwanese independent documentary database barely appears in government statistics. Specifically, it has been difficult to find information about distribution, box office (relating to independent documentaries released through the commercial film theatres), and the annual number of productions and the annual list of documentary films. These government databases do not look favourably on keeping independent documentary film records, and the independent documentary in Taiwan has a history of alternative broadcasting modes that is not positively perceived in government records and incurs censorship. To understand possible consumption volume of documentary production in the past two decades, government records of independent documentaries are certainly not accurate. However, in my research, I avoid the quantitative databases related to independent documentaries. Therefore, government statistics are not main documents in my analysis.

Under such circumstances, completing a study of a body of independent documentary films (especially for the period after 2000) is a difficult task. I have done my best to locate all independent documentaries available in both publicly accessible and closed archives, as well as in private collections, and have used every method from online searches to personal contacts. However, there remains

[9] The selected works of Liu Na-Ou (5 clips) and Deng Nan-Guang (3 clips) in the 1930s were released by Tosee company as part of a series of *A Retrospective Collection of Documentary Films from Taiwan* (2006) with other Taiwanese documentaries. Regarding their independent documentaries, see Chapter 4.

[10] The Green Team database has being open to the public since March of 2013. http://greenteam.tnnua.edu.tw/releaseRedirect.do?unitID=241&pageID=12543 (accessed on 10 July 2013)

the possibility that there are other independent documentary films that others will find out about in the future.

Notably, the format of these independent documentaries is varied, including 9.5 millimetres, 16 millimetres, 8 millimetres, videos and digital videos. Importantly, the format here refers to the procedure of *production*. It does not refer to the format of screening—or in some cases of independent documentary—neither does it mean original video that has been transformed into 35 millimetres upon commercial release in theatres (for example, *Jump! Boys,* 2005). Significantly, the format of the independent documentary is related to the production mode, and so the approach in my thesis is to define the independent documentary in Taiwan in terms of its mode of production.

Interviews

In my research, in-depth interviews are another vital method for acquiring evidence. To construct the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary, most of the documents reveal the historical dimension and the chronicle of the Taiwanese documentary. My thesis includes the interviews of documentarians, as their voices are vital in studying how the concepts and purposes of independent documentary filmmaking have been realized.

The definition of interviewing involves, '…a face-to-face verbal interchange in person; the interview attempts to elicit information or expression of opinion or belief from another person or persons' (Maccoby & Maccoby 1954). On the other hand, interviewing is the way through face-to-face contact that acquires information from interviewees. There are many types of interviews, including structured interviews, focused or semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews and group interviews (Williams M. 1997). The semi-structured interview for qualitative research means that the researcher has a broader question to ask, leading the interviewee to think and answer questions about the relevant research issues. The form of semi-structured interview is flexible. The questions can offer interviewees flexible options and opportunities to respond. The advantage of the semi-structured interview is that the information from interviewees is close to a real reaction. The definition of in-depth interviews are '… repeated face-to-face encounters between

the researcher and informants directed toward understanding informants' perspective on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed on their own words' (Taylor & Bogdan 1984). In my research, the form of 'repeated interview' is not necessary. However, keeping in touch with key independent documentarians whose work has been chosen analysis in my thesis is vitally important.

My research focuses on interviews with documentarians from the late 1980s to the present. I have interviewed sixteen people (refer to the appendix). They live in different regions of Taiwan, and some of them have retired from documentary or film, and television-related positions for a long time. Also, some of them have never been interviewed before on the record. The priority for choosing interviewees has been according to the following criteria: their documentary films, the volume of existing literature (including collections of interviews) regarding the documentarians, and the perspectives of existing interview collections. The documentary work itself is the most important criterion for choosing the interviewee. I first analyzed the independent documentaries made during the same chronological period. Then, I tried to situate the independent documentary in terms of its historical perspective. Then, I interviewed the documentarians in order to examine their concept of and the background to their documentary filmmaking as a case study. Some of the independent documentarians have already done substantial interviews in the past, but the perspectives of these existing interviews are quite often different from my own research questions. Therefore I disregarded the existing literature and arranged the interview with specific documentarians by myself.

Most existing published interviews focus on the independent documentarians who emerged around the mid-1990s, and consist of general questions such as the concepts behind their works, their careers, and so on. The latest interview collections are *Love, Hate and Gloom: Interviews with Taiwanese Middle Generation Documentarians* (2009)[11] and *Beyond the Viewfinder: A Collective Portrait of Taiwanese Documentarians*[12] that was published in October

[11] The twelve interviewees in *Hate and Gloom: the Interviews of Taiwanese Middle Generation Documentarians* (2009) are Mayaw Biho, Zhu Xian-Zhe, Li Zhong-Wang, Wu Mi-Sen, Wu Yao-Dong, Zhou Mei-Ling, Lin Tai-Zhou, Ke Jin-Yuan, Chen Jun-Zhi, Huang Ting-Fu, Yang Li-Zhou, and Cai Chong-Long.

[12] The six interviewees in *Outside the Viewfinder: the Collective Depiction of Taiwanese Documentarians* (2012) are Yan Lan-Quan, Zhung Yi-Zeng, Huang Xin-Yao, Chen Liang-Feng,

2012. These interview collections cover a relatively younger generation of documentarians after the mid-1990s. Although interviews with Mayaw Biho, Wu Yao-Dong and Yang Li-Zhou appear in these recently published collections, I have interviewed them again, and with a larger emphasis on independent documentary filmmaking. I did this in order to gain a better understanding of the notion of Taiwanese independent documentary from the documentarians themselves, especially after the mid-1990s.

Conclusion

Thompson and Bordwell (1994) indicate that the film historian tries to both describe and explain a process or state of affairs. The historian bases his assessment on an examination of evidence, and his argument consists of arranging this evidence to create a plausible explanation about these very events (or state of affairs). Historians in any discipline do more than accumulate facts. No facts speak for themselves '… only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts to give the floor and in what order or text' (Carr 2001: 5).

Thompson and Bordwell stress that there is no one history of film, but many possible dimensions of film histories offering different perspectives. Initially, film researchers begin with an interest in one area, and formulate the research questions further through different dimensions. Not all questions that the historian wants to ask can be neatly categorized into a specific type of history. In addition, the main purpose of film history actually aims to express the historian's argument and assumptions of the questions asked by explaining the historical facts of a given film (Thompson and Bordwell 1994: 4). The film historian makes film history facts speak as part of a historical argument, and history, itself, is a form of argument (Allen and Gomery 1993: 48). Thus, constructing a history of the Taiwanese independent documentary is the approach I have chosen to demonstrate my arguments.

The Taiwanese independent documentary is still changing and developing constantly. Thus, the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary and the

definitions that I discuss can only be presented via my own historical perspectives and explanations. However, film history has revealed the importance of the independent documentary as a significant mechanism in Taiwanese society. In the following chapters (4-8), I will construct the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary to demonstrate my findings and arguments that have emerged from my research.

Chapter 4:
The Precursors of the Taiwanese Independent Documentary

Introduction

The first identifiable film made in native Taiwan was *An Introduction to the Actual Taiwan* (*Taiwan jikkyo shokai*) by Japanese filmmaker Takamatsu Toyojiro in 1907 (Lee Daw-Ming 2013: 6). Although such non-fiction film productions have existed since the early twentieth-century, most of these films were made by government-affiliated organizations as forms of political propaganda, meant to educate the colonist or filmed as investigations of colonial territory by the Japanese government in Taiwan. However, according to recent discoveries of unearthed materials, individual filmmaking activities were present during this period. I argue that these activities are precursors to the Taiwanese independent documentary prior to its emergence. These activities emerged in the 1920s and 1930s under the Japanese colonial period (1895 to 1945) in Taiwan.

In this chapter, using existing historical materials, I will: (i) discuss the history of filmmaking activities in Taiwan before 1945 (or the 'Japanese colonial period'), a period where independent documentary films were non-existent, and (ii) examine the individual, non-fiction, amateur filmmaking activities in the 1920s and 1930s that, I argue, are 'precursors' of the Taiwanese independent documentary.

4.1 Filmmaking during the Japanese Colonial Period

In this section, I will examine filmmaking activities within the Japanese colonial period. According to existing historical materials and recovered films, I argue that no independent documentaries were made during the Japanese colonial period. Conversely, I also argue that a few non-fiction filmmaking activities did nonetheless appear in the 1920s and 1930s. These activities can be considered precursors to the emergence of the independent documentary in Taiwan and outside the system. Through a discussion of social and political factors, I will discuss why the production of independent documentaries was absent in Taiwan during this period.

4.1.1 Japanese Colonial Government Propaganda

Film productions during the Japanese colonial period consisted of mostly newsreels and political propaganda, which supported colonial government policy and "educated" the residents in Taiwan. Most film productions from government-affiliated organizations had two purposes: first, was to produce film directed at the colonizers who lived in mainland Japan, in order to help them understand the social and economic circumstances in Taiwan; second, film productions were made for 'educating' the Taiwanese people (the 'colonized') so that they could become more like the Japanese ('colonizers').

According to prior research, before 1925, filmmaking activities generally consisted of non-fiction film productions[13]. The first film that was made in Taiwan was in 1907. Goto Shimpei—the minister of interior affairs in the Japanese colonial government—invited Takamatsu Toyojiro to make this film. Goto understood the benefit of using film as propaganda, since he had seen successful cases of such uses in Japan before. Therefore, Goto invited Takamatsu to visit Taiwan, and film

[13] *God is Merciless* (1925) was assumed to be the first feature film made by local Japanese and Taiwanese in Taiwan (Lee Daw-Ming 2013: 13).

screenings were organized to promote the Japanese social system and their colonial policies. Furthermore, in order to promote the achievements of the colonial government in Taiwan, Goto supported Takamatsu's creation of a non-fiction film named *An Introduction to the Actual Taiwan* (*Taiwan jikkyo shokai*, 1907); this was the first non-fiction film made in Taiwan. The content was concerned with the changes in Taiwanese society under Japanese colonization, and showed the benefits of the colonial government's newly-established infrastructure within Taiwan. In fact, *An Introduction to the Actual Taiwan* was displayed in the Tokyo Exposition as an attempt to prove how Taiwan stood out as a model colony (Ye Long-Yan 2000: 39-42; Lee Daw-Ming 2013: 137).

Specifically, Ye Long-Yan explains that, *An Introduction to the Actual Taiwan* consisted of five parts: (i) Taipei city; (ii) The Keelung Harbor and Jin Shan; (iii) A train trip through local places; (iv) Indigenous peoples; and (v) The Indigenous policy. Each part introduced a different dimension of Taiwanese society and economic circumstances under the colonial government, in order to build a positive image of colonial strategy. The film had its premiere in Taipei on 8th May 1907, and had another launch on the Japanese mainland at the Tokyo Exposition in the same year, before being released to cinemas within the rest of Japan. In addition, Takamatsu brought Taiwan's indigenous peoples to Tokyo for the film screening. Subsequently, after their visit to Japan, the Japanese Governor General of the colonial government in Taiwan displayed these same indigenous Taiwanese individuals as successful cases of 'colonized' persons that could be used to promote indigenous policy (Ye Long-Yan 2000: 39-42). According to the data collected by Ye Long-Yan (2000), the type of non-fiction films made by the Japanese in Taiwan that firmly emphasized domination over Taiwan's indigenous people were common during the colonial period. Notable instances of such documentaries include, *Taiwanese Governor to Calm the Indigenous* (1912), *Paiwan Tribe* (1937) and *Bu Nong Tribe* (1939).

Moreover, propaganda to educate the Taiwanese to accept ideologies about 'being Japanese' (or pedagogically promoting a 'sense of Japan') was also common at that time. Prior research suggests that the colonial government started to use documentaries for colonial education from 1914 until the end of the colonial period in 1945 (Lee Daw-Ming 2000: 566-7). For instance, The Taiwan Education Society (TES) started to screen and make films related to Taiwanese culture and society for

the purposes of social education. Also, the TES not only trained its members in charge of social education to make films, but also strategically placed film projectors within social education spaces to educate people by screening these films. The TES started film production in 1917, using both fiction and non-fiction films as propaganda. These efforts were intended to strengthen colonial policies and educate both colonists and the Taiwanese people, and included such films as *Military Education* (1917), and *The Newsreel of Toguu Denka* (1923) (Ye Long-Yan 2000: 45). By early 1924, a total of 84 films had been made by the Taiwan Education Society. Not all were educational films. About 17 percent were records of political events, 13 percent were about agriculture and fisheries, and 26 percent focused on transportation, visiting cities and other scenery in Taiwan (Lee Daw-Ming 2013: 139).

Furthermore, another type of colonial propaganda revealed how traditional Taiwanese customs changed after Japanese colonization. They displayed negative behavior within Taiwanese society prior to the occupation (such as disorder within bus stations and dirty environments in the market) (Ye Long-Yan 2000: 41). These behaviours were contrasted to more 'positive', and 'modern' Japanese life styles (adopted from Western countries), such as activities within education institutions, or even lecture competitions called 'civilization activities' (ibid.).

In 1941, the Japanese colonial government wanted to control film production more intensively. They did this by establishing the Taiwan Film Association (*Taiwan eiga kyokai*) and consolidating resources from the film production division of the Taiwan Education Society (Lee Daw-Ming 2013: 16). The association was in charge of film production, distribution, and exhibition. The films were still used for political propaganda purposes. Just as the TES prepared plenty of newsreels to broadcast the circumstances of the First World War to the Taiwanese people, so the association also produced newsreel documentaries in Taiwan locally, for instance, through the *Monthly Newsreel Series of Taiwan* (1943 to 1945) (Ye Long-Yan 2000: 49).

4.1.2 The Amateur Film

Although most of the non-fiction film productions in Taiwan were works of propaganda during the Japanese colonial period, some non-fiction filmmaking activities emerged outside colonial government institutions in the 1920s and 1930s. These activities, I argue, were the precursors of independent documentary filmmaking in Taiwan. Most of the works were non-fiction films and were made outside the system. In this section, based on existing historical materials, I will analyse those non-fiction filmmaking activities and explain why amateur filmmaking can be seen as 'precursors' to the Taiwanese independent documentary.

In previous research about Taiwanese filmmaking in the Japanese colonial period, researchers Ye Long-Yan (2000) and Lee Daw-Ming (2010, 2013) defined these filmmaking activities as amateur films or home-movie productions. For instance, these activities involved amateur filmmaking cine-clubs in the Japanese colonial period in the 1920s and 1930s. They also involved individual amateur filmmakers Liu Na-Ou and Deng Nan-Guang in the 1930s. However, such non-fiction filmmaking efforts, I argue, were initially intended to collect family memories and document special subjects as an amateur hobby, instead of communicating ideas to the general public via wider release/distribution. In terms of their production modes, these non-fiction films were made individually outside the constraints of the commercial or government film industry. Therefore, I argue that these amateur films and home-movie productions appearing outside the system were precursors to the Taiwanese independent documentary.

Cine-Clubs

According to a document in the Japanese period written by Japanese journalist Ame Michio (1943), and also the research of Ye Long-Yan (2000) and Lee Daw-Ming (2010, 2013), amateur film production became a novelty in Japan after the late 1920s. After the appearance of the 9.5 millimeters Pathé Baby camera developed in France in the 1920s, it soon made its way to Taiwan where this new technology became popular. Two cine-clubs were established that engaged with amateur filmmaking in the late 1920s: the Don Club (founded in Taipei in 1928)

and Heibi Kinema cine-club (founded in Taipei in 1929). Both of them made amateur film shot in 9.5 millimeters. According to Lee Daw-Ming's account, Don Club held their first exhibition of films made by its members in early October, 1928. Then, together with Heibi Kinema, they held a joint exhibition in Taipei in January 1929 in an office in central Taipei. The activity of these two cine-clubs was open to the public; they regularly advertised filmmaking and photography related activities in newspapers. There were another two important cine-clubs that emerged in 1934: Koyokai and Lumiere Club (Lee Daw-Ming 2013: 11). In a magazine article, Ame Michio (1934) wrote to introduce the Koyokai, the amateur cine-club centered on 9.5mm filmmaking with the Pathé Baby camera. Ame Michio described Koyokai as one of the clubs established by such amateur filmmakers in Taipei in the 1930s due to their love of the camera. The members of the club hosted exhibitions of their 9.5mm film productions regularly to promote their films and the film format itself, while exchanging their experiences of amateur filmmaking. The films produced by the Koyokai were appreciated and recognized by the colonial government so much, in fact, that the authorities asked the members of Koyokai to make a non-fiction film for them. *Taiwan Special Exercise* (1934) was the film made by members of the Koyokai, and was highly praised by the colonial military division (written in Japanese in 1934, translated into Chinese by Hong Ya-Wen 2000:146; cited in Lee Daw-Ming 2013: 11).

Liu Na-Ou and Deng Nan-Guang

Apart from the cine-clubs, Liu Na-Ou (birth name Liu Can-Po, 1905-1940) and Deng Nan-Guang (birth name Deng Teng-Hui, 1907-1971) were two significant amateur filmmakers in Taiwan in this period. According to prior research and my own analysis of their films, it remains controversial whether Liu Na-Ou and Deng Nan-Guang's works, and especially Liu's works, can be defined as documentary film in the terms argued for by John Grierson (1933) and elaborated by Paul Rotha (1935). However, in terms of the mode of production, Liu and Deng's films were certainly made outside of the system and government-affiliated organizations independently, as works of amateur filmmaking and forms of non-fiction. In terms of their production modes, I argue that Liu and Deng's

works can be seen as precursors of independent documentary in Taiwan.

Liu Na-Ou was born in Tainan in Southern Taiwan, His 9.5mm non-fiction films, made between 1933 and 1934, were discovered recently. They were restored and introduced at the Taiwan International Documentary Festival in 2000, after being hidden for years in his old residence (Chen Jin-Yu 2009). His iconic non-fiction film work is *The Man With a Movie Camera* (1934) and it showed his interest in using amateur filmmaking to explore the film theories adopted from Russian filmmaker and theorist Dziga Vertov. However, the filmmaking techniques within *The Man With a Movie Camera* raise questions concerning whether this is a conventional documentary in, especially in regard to montage as a way of constructing the narrative and conveying the filmmaker's perspective.

As an intellectual, Liu Na-Ou published various written works (including novels and newspaper articles). He was also a feature film producer, director, and screenplay writer in Shanghai in his early thirties. Liu Na-Ou appreciated Russian filmmaker and theorist Dziga Vertov's 'Kino-Eye' film theory (Lee Ming-Yu 2013: 6-8). His own film, *The Man With a Movie Camera* (1934), paid homage to Vertov's film, *Man With a Movie Camera* (1929), by adopting a nearly identical title (Lee Ming-Yu 2013: 8). Liu's film showed his daily family activities, and was shot on 9.5mm film. The film consists of five sections: *People, Tokyo, Sightseeing, Guangzhou* and *Parade.* Liu inserted captions at the beginning of each section. There are also some captions that indicate the locations and events in the film, but it lacks a narrative dimension. The film depicts family members (the *People*), travel (sightseeing in *Tokyo,* the *Sightseeing* section, and scenery in *Guangzhou*) and scenes of a Taiwanese folk-religious festival (the *Parade*).

Though the film clips were edited—thus consciously expressing the experience and presence of an 'editor'—the way the film was shot along with its structure still lacked evidence of the filmmaker's own perspective. Therefore, it is difficult to distinguish whether Liu was employing film as a strategy to construct a conscious narrative, and it is hard to define his film as a documentary film in the conventional sense. As I discussed in Chapter 1, the presence of a 'conscious narrative' is a vital criterion to distinguish whether a film is either a 'documentary film' or merely a 'moving-image document'.

Lee Daw-Ming comments that Liu's *The Man With a Movie Camera* (1934) differs from Vertov's film (1929), since Liu's work fails to demonstrate editing

techniques that help construct the filmmaker's perspective (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 35-7). Due to these factors, Liu's film cannot easily be defined as a conventional documentary film with a fully formed narrative structure. Nonetheless, the nature of *The Man With a Movie Camera* as a non-fiction film is evident. Also, in terms of production mode, Liu Na-Ou made the film outside of the system and government-affiliated organizations; therefore, it can be seen as a precursor of the Taiwanese independent documentary.

Another amateur filmmaker, Deng Nan-Guang, was born in 1907 in northern Taiwan, in Xinzhu County. He was a professional still photographer and owned a photography shop in Taipei after he graduated from university in Japan, where he lived between 1929 and 1935 (Xiao Yong-Sheng 2000: 16). Deng focused on taking realist photographs, and can be considered a key pioneer of realism in the history of Taiwanese photography (Xiao Yong-Sheng 2000: 17). Apart from still photos, Deng also made a few non-fiction films with his own 8mm camera between 1935 and 1941. These have been restored by the Taipei Film Archives.

Based on my own viewing of Deng's 8mm-film works, I argue that his non-fiction films are essentially amateur works, and cannot be considered conventional documentary films. The collection of Deng Nan-Guang's 8mm films contains 20 film clips most are shorter than 10 minutes (for example *Ballet*, 3 mins; *Rain*, 3 mins; *One Day*, 3 mins; and *Danshui River*, 8 mins). The contents were obviously closely linked to his personal memories, for instance: the depiction of family members (in *Dangshui River, The Sunday Afternoon* and *Family Portraits*); family activities (in *Go Fishing* and *Yuanshan Zoo*); sightseeing (in *Taipei Camphor Festival* and *Swimming at the Seaside in Xinzhu*); and snapshot moving-image compilations (in *Impression of Taipei, Architectural Portrait*, and *Ballet*). Deng used captions in the films to explain their content and filming locations, but most of these works featured limited editing.

Lee Daw-Ming suggests that although Deng's films represent Taiwan's lifestyle and social situation and were more skillfully shot than Liu Na-Ou's, they merely documented family activities and failed to demonstrate any concept of the 'creative treatment of actuality'--a key criterion of the documentary film (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 35-7). Through my viewing of Deng Nan-Guang's 8mm films, I argue that his use of filmmaking was connected to his experience as a stills photographer. Deng's use of moving image film expressed his desire to create artworks through

moving images instead of documenting though images with a conscious narrative. However, the lack of fully developed filmmaking techniques showed that Deng's films were still far from the conventional documentary film with a fully formed narrative structure. Therefore, I argue that the films made by Deng lack the criteria to be considered documentary film as defined in this thesis. But in terms of mode of production, since Deng Nan-Guang made these non-fiction films outside the system and government-affiliated organizations, they can also be considered as precursors to the Taiwanese independent documentary.

The Public Funeral of Jiang Wei-Shui (1931)

The non-fiction film *The Public Funeral of Jiang Wei-Shui* (*Jiang Wei-Shui Dazhong Zang*, 1931), was another peculiar instance of individual filmmaking. As I will discuss in this section, this film also cannot be easily described as a conventional documentary film. However, according to the limited existing literature, the concept of how the film was made and its intended purpose after its completion provides evidence that this film was not merely intended to be a home-movie. Notably, this film was a significant example of amateur filmmaking intended to provoke political awareness, and engaged issues concerning colonial rule. In terms of its mode of production, this film can also be classified as an amateur film. Due to these factors, this work can also be considered a precursor of the Taiwanese independent documentary.

Jiang Wei-Shui (1891-1931) was a native Taiwanese politician and democratic activist during the Japanese colonial period. He was a key member and founder of the Taiwanese Culture Association (*Taiwan Wenhua Xiehui*) which was a local organization directed against the Japanese colonial government. It was active between 1921 and the early 1930s (Huang Huang-Xiong 2006: 10). The drivers behind the Taiwanese Culture Association were Taiwanese intellectuals living in Taipei who had been influenced by the anti-colonial movement since the beginning of the twentieth Century. Therefore, they decided to establish the organization for the purpose of 'developing Taiwanese culture', instead of publicly advertising their opposition to the colonial government, and to avoid being banned by the Japanese authorities (Lin Bo-Wei 1998: 55). The association aimed to

convey modern conceptions of knowledge to the local farmers and labourers throughout Taiwan via lectures and forums. However, low literacy rates and influences from colonial policies meant they did not really deliver the hoped for results. Therefore, they decided to establish a film screening team in 1926. The team was named '*Beautiful Taiwan Team* (*mei tai tuan*)'. This team employed film screenings to spread their anti-colonial concepts (Ye Rong-Zhong 1971: 317). The team did not make films by themselves. Instead, they bought educational documentaries from Japan that were made in other countries, such as those of Northern Europe. In the beginning, the association trained three people to run the screenings: one as a technician, and the other two as the *benshi* (*bonimenteur*) live narrators who provided commentary and were responsible for interpreting the content of the film to the audiences (Lin Bo-Wei 1998: 120). In addition,

> '… sometimes, the words the *benshi* (*bonimenteur*) used had intentional irony about politics, prompting the [Japanese] police [responsible for monitoring such gatherings] to interfere with the screening or even stop the event. Sometimes, because the police were not familiar with the Taiwanese dialect [spoken by the *benshi*], this led to misunderstandings and prosecutions over the screenings. This in turn led to audiences and the *benshi* regularly protesting to the police.' (Ye Rong-Zhong 1971: 318, my translation)

The film screening team was popular and travelled to different counties in western Taiwan. One of the reasons for their popularity was the way that the *benshi* (*bonimenteur*) interpreted the films using metaphors that could reflect the political realities of society during the Japanese colonial period (Lin Bo-Wei 1998: 122). Looking at the available research about the Taiwan Culture Association and its *Beautiful Taiwan Team*, it is difficult to definitively conclude whether they indeed intended their film screenings as part of a political movement. However, the research does reveal that the organization obviously understood the employment of film and its impact on the public, as well as how the colonial authorities used film as propaganda.

Existing research indicates that the most active period of the Taiwan Culture Association was between 1925 and 1926, and the association deteriorated after 1930 due to internal conflicts regarding their political approach and the climate of

suppression from the colonial government (ibid., 120). In 1927, Jiang Wei-Shui and other key members who were more politically outspoken against the colonial government left the Taiwan Culture Association and established the Taiwan Public Party (*Taiwan Minzhong Dong*), which was the first political party set up by local Taiwanese during the Japanese colonial period.

Jiang Wei-Shui died from ill health in 1931. Due to his prominence as an outspoken figure against the Japanese colonizers, Jiang's funeral in Taipei became a sensation, and made the colonial government anxious. The Taiwan Public Party and other radical organizations planned his funeral, and defined the funeral as a 'public funeral (*dazhong zang*)' in order to highlight his importance. Japanese native Shinkai Risaburo, who owned a photography shop in Taipei, appealed for donations to buy 8mm celluloid film to document Jiang Wei-Shui's funeral procession (Jiang Chao-Gan 2005). The original film should have been approximately 60 minutes long, but only 28 minutes have survived (The Introduction to *The Public Funeral of Jiang Wei-Shui* 2005: 4). The film documented the funeral elaborately, including scenes from the procession through the streets of Taipei. In addition to moving images, the film contained still photos.

According to the *Taiwan Xinmin Newspaper* (volume 379, 29 August 1931), the funeral procession was filmed in its entirety by a camera team. The film was originally intended to travel to screens throughout Taiwan. However, the funeral's sensation prompted the Japanese colonial government to ban this film, and it remained banned during the entire Japanese colonial period. The film print was given to and preserved by Shinkai Risaburo's Taiwanese apprentice before Shinkai was deported from Taiwan after Japan's defeat at the end of World War Two (Jiang Bo-Xin 2010: 8). Before the film was restored and released in a digitalized copy in 2005, it premiered to the public in Taipei in 1951 on the twentieth anniversary of Jiang Wei-Shui's death. This was the only screening to the public before its re-release in 2005 (Jiang Chao-Gan 2005).

According to the limited materials that exist about *The Public Funeral of Jiang Wei-Shui,* it is difficult to determine whether the production and its intended exhibition tour were indeed vehicles to strengthen anti-colonialism. However, despite its ban from public exhibition, this film certainly made an impact in terms of demonstrating individual filmmaking initiatives outside of the official system. Therefore, I suggest that it can also be seen as a precursor of independent

documentary production in Taiwan, before the latter's emergence in the 1960s (see Chapter 5).

To conclude, in this chapter, I have discussed key examples of precursors to the Taiwanese independent documentary. These precursors have been located in the period between the 1920s and 1930s. I have argued that these precursors do not demonstrate a direct connection with the independent documentary filmmaking initiatives that emerged in scattered form after the 1960s and grew to prominence after the late 1980s in Taiwan. However, in terms of the mode of production, these instances of amateur filmmaking have offered a prototype for the independent production of documentaries in Taiwan and must not be overlooked. In the next chapter, I will examine the social and political background in Taiwan after 1945 after the end of the Japanese colonial period, and demonstrate the causes and effects of the emergence of the independent documentary in Taiwan in the late 1980s.

Chapter 5:
The First Taiwanese Independent Documentaries

Introduction

In previous research, Jiang Guan-Ming (1988, 1992) and He Zhao-Ti (1993) described independent documentaries as a 'minority medium (*xiaozhong meiti*)' or 'alternative medium (*linglei meiti*)' in the late 1980's. As Tony Dowmunt suggests, alternative media are 'the media forms that are on a smaller scale, more accessible and participatory, and less constrained by bureaucracy or commercial interests than the mainstream media and often in some way in explicit opposition to them' (Dowmunt 2007: 1). Independent documentaries in Taiwan indeed fit Dowmunt's criteria for an 'alternative medium'. However, the concept of minority medium, or alternative medium, in Taiwan, was not derived from western concepts, but was generated out of local circumstances. It was a response to the strict control of the media in Taiwan by the Kuomintang Nationalist Party government using the laws and regulations produced by martial law, which was in effect from the late 1940s to 1987. Alternative media emerged in Taiwan specifically for breaking political censorship and the barriers produced by media control, as I detail in this chapter. In addition, I also argue that this 'minority/alternative medium' (as by Jiang and He put it), describes documentaries that were specifically made outside the controlled media in the late 1980s. These types of 'minority/alternative' documentaries are vital in understanding the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary.

In this chapter, based on existing historical materials and primary materials I have collected, I will construct the history of the Taiwanese independent documentary in the period after 1945. This date marks the cessation of the Japanese colonial period, which continues until the late 1980's. This period saw the emergence of independent documentary filmmaking in Taiwan. Specifically, I ask: how have independent documentaries emerged, and what are their most significant characteristics? By re-interpreting existing materials, I argue that the emergence of

the Taiwanese independent documentary occurred in the 1960s. Afterwards, their appearance was as isolated works scattered through the 1970s and most of the 1980s.

This scattered development makes it difficult to identify a single set of defining characteristics of the independent documentary in this period. However, I argue that the very scattered nature of the independent documentary, in fact, epitomizes its primary form in that period. After the cessation of martial law (in 1987), I argue that changes in social and political circumstances led to the independent documentary's rapid emergence. It then became a vehicle to break media control and highlight political movements, which became the key characteristics then. I will examine the social and political background from a historical perspective, in order to show how independent documentaries emerged in the 1960s, and how they became a vehicle for political participation in the late 1980s. In addition, based on primary materials and a re-interpretation of existing data, I will analyse the independent documentary group, Green Team (*lüse xiaozu*). I argue that this group exemplifies significant characteristics of the Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s.

5.1 After the Japanese Colonial Era

In this section, I will examine the social and political circumstances of filmmaking activities that emerged in Taiwan during the period of the Kuomintang (KMT) government (that retreated from Mainland China to Taiwan in 1949). In this period, the authorities controlled film production through censorship and government policies. According to historical materials, due to the conditions of non-fiction film production in Taiwan's post-colonial period it was difficult to develop a consistent concept of the independent documentary. After 1945 the Japanese colonial period ended, and non-fiction film productions became commissioned by the film studios, which were owned by the new government. These non-fiction films were mostly propaganda, aimed at educating citizens to adopt ideologies opposing Communism. Lee Daw-Ming argues that the modes of production used by these studios were brought over from their prior experience in Mainland China, and were then influenced by the style of the Japanese colonial period (Lee Daw-Ming 2000: 291-3). In addition, after 1949, the implementation of the Taiwanese Province Martial Law also made a huge impact on the development of the independent documentary within Taiwan. The KMT government had lost the civil war with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and retreated from Mainland China to Taiwan. Thus, Taiwan became a base intended for the recovery of Mainland China. From this context, non-fiction film production became one of the key approaches towards building patriotism and nationalism. Furthermore, for these same reasons, ideological control extended to television documentary productions when television broadcasting became more accessible in Taiwan after the 1970s.

5.1.1 KMT Propaganda

In 1945, with the defeat of Japan in World War Two, the Japanese colonial government returned the territory of Taiwan to the KMT in December 1945 (Cooper 2009: 43). Then, in 1949, at the end of the civil war between the KMT and

CCP, the KMT government decided to retreat to Taiwan and build it into a base for the recovery of Mainland China (ibid., 46). At this time, Taiwanese film production and institutions were reformed. In addition to the institutions that were established in the colonial period by the Japanese colonial government, the film production organisations in Mainland China also moved to Taiwan with the KMT government in 1949 (Lu Feii 2006: 35,41). Film production remained in control of the authorities and non-fiction filmmaking continued to serve as propaganda.

In the beginning, the film studios that moved along with the KMT from Mainland China took over local studio facilities and staff that had already been established during the Japanese colonial period (ibid., 41). After this transition, the reform of the film studios began. There were three major film production studios that made documentaries all owned by the authorities: the Taiwan Film Studio (TFS; *Taiwan Dianying Zhipianchang*), Central Motion Picture Corporation (CMPC; *Zhongyang Dianying Gongsi*) and the China Film Studio (CFS; *Zhongguo Dianying Zhipianchang*) (Lee Daw-Ming 2013: 21).

The background of these studios varied. TFS was founded in Taiwan after the KMT government took over and allocated to the Government Information Office in 1945. The CMPC was combined with The Agricultural Education Motion Picture Corporation (*Nongye Jiaoyu Dianying Gongsi*) that was founded in Nanjing, China, and also the Taiwan Film Enterprise (*Taiwan Dianying Gongsi*) had been founded in Taiwan in 1954. The CFS was under the military system in Mainland China, and this continued when it moved from Shanghai to Taiwan in 1949 (Chen Pin-Chuan 2009: 167-170). Generally speaking, each studio had specific directions for documentary productions. For instance, TFS made newsreels for social and educational purposes, CMPC made propaganda to solicit patriotism in civilians, and CFS made newsreels for military education (Du Yun-Zhi 1972: 26-7; Han Xu-Er 1991: 60).

The CCP used film production to promote Communism in Mainland China during the civil war. The scheme was successful, and Communist film propaganda affected the KMT government negatively (Li Tian-Duo 1997: 106-7). Consequently, after their retreat to Taiwan, the KMT enforced film production control and censorship policies to prevent future problems. Chiang Kai-Shek claimed control of entertainment policies in 1953, arguing that the government

must run modern electronic educational media (such as film and radio), in order to maintain and improve civilian health and mentality (Lin Cong-Yu 2006: 12). Eventually, all film productions needed to get permits from the government. Lu Feii suggests that the three major film production studios (CFS, CMPC, and TFS) established a complete network of national legitimacy, security and development; all of which were dominated and controlled by the KMT government. Therefore, the state apparatus effectively controlled film production (Lu Feii 2006: 47).

Furthermore, the KMT government had, of course, lost control of the film industry in Mainland China during the civil war, which gave the CCP an opportunity to use film as a vehicle for revolution. This past loss influenced the KMT's decision to control the film industry firmly in Taiwan. However, when the KMT government was forced to retreat to Taiwan, most of the film professionals chose to stay in Mainland China or find refuge in Hong Kong, rather than move to Taiwan. This not only reveals the failure of the KMT government to control the film industry, but also points to their impotent attempts to use film effectively as a propaganda tool during the civil war. In order to prevent these circumstances from happening again, film policy became strict in Taiwan during the 1950s and afterwards (Li Tian-Duo 1997: 106-7).

Moreover, before the advent of television, film was seen as an important medium for disseminating information. Film itself can be seen as a medium filled with ideology. Han Xu-Er argues that if audiences accept any given film content that means they accept the ideology 'disguised' within the film. Thus, a nation can reduce the costs of advertising a given ideology, by making films that the authorities can use to dominate the people (Han Xu-Er 1991: 60). Also, Lin Cong-Yu suggests that documentaries oriented as propaganda before the late 1980's became 'paradigms' of a documentary production mode that could mediate and control national ideology (Lin Cong-Yu 1996: 12). This was evident in the mode of documentary production within the Taiwan Film Studio. *Independent* documentary production, however, was not yet possible in this period.

The TFS produced social education newsreels and documentaries that were screened in film theatres prior to their official screening (Han Xu-Er 2001: 45,47). This strategy was a key approach to "educate" audiences. The government controlled the TFS, spreading their ideology throughout the organization from the chairperson to the basic technical staff. In fact, Wu Xi-Ze, the first leader of the

studio, was also in charge of the Government Information Office (*xinwenju;* GIO). In addition, his successors Yuan Cong-Mei and Long Fang (who belonged to the military system), were loyal to the KMT in their stand against the Communists (ibid., 60-1). Furthermore, in the studio, staff hierarchy privileged those who moved with the KMT government from Mainland China to Taiwan. According to an interview with Chen Yu-Bo by Lee Daw-Ming, original Taiwanese staff that had worked since the Japanese period were at risk of losing their jobs until 1978.

In addition, government censorship controlled the budget and documentary topics. The GIO was responsible for the film industry and applied external censorship, whereas the TFS itself possessed internal self-censorshi For the TFS, their commissions for documentary productions avoided sensitive issues (ibid., 61). Thus, topics could only be permitted if they contained positive notions about nationalism, or promoted government policy. Negative social news was difficult to find in the media, as it was often not allowed. Common themes included: a) Taiwan as a base for the recovery of Mainland China b) how Taiwan endorses democratic local elections, and c) the rapid development of Taiwanese society (Lee Daw-Ming 1995: 35).

Furthermore, according to the documentary film lists of the TFS, most of the films could be described as 'compilation films'. Such films involve editing newsreels and dubbing the commentary in the 'expository mode (as termed by Bill Nichols). Nichols details that expository mode documentaries 'address the viewer directly, with titles or voices that propose a perspective, advance an argument, or recount history' (Nichols 2001: 105). Thus, such commentary involves a 'voice-of-god' perspective, using authoritative narrative and language (ibid.). As Lee Daw-Ming suggests, forms of documentary in this period (including the TFS documentaries), were obviously influenced by *newsreels* from both the Japanese colonial period, as well as from film institutions that moved from Mainland China to Taiwan (Lee Daw-Ming 2000: 291-2). Most TFS documentaries were scripted and incorporated narrative commentary. This commentary fit government and party political needs.

Making a documentary outside of the system was rare during this time, due to government policies concerning filmmaking. However, in terms of the mode of production, Lee Daw-Ming (2000) and other researchers argue that *Liu Bi-Chia* (1966) was the first film with a modern concept of the documentary in Taiwan. In

the next section, I argue that *Liu Bi-Chia*, together with other independent documentary filmmaking activities scattered throughout the 1960s and 1970s, were early forms of the independent documentary in Taiwan.

5.2 The Emergence of Independent Documentary

In this section, I examine the emergence of independent documentary filmmaking between the 1960s and 1970s in Taiwan. From 1962, and the launch of the television era created alternative possibilities for independent documentary development, along with the documentary, *Liu Bi-Chia* (1966). For instance, Zhuang Ling, who worked for a government-affiliated TV station, was influenced by *Liu Bi-Chia* and used resources within the system to make documentaries independently in his spare time. In addition, Zhang Zhou-Tang produced television news programmes and television documentary series that attempted to challenge the barriers of documentary production within the system. These television documentary productions included CTV's *Sixty Minutes* and *Fragrant Formosa*. Although these examples cannot be defined as independent works in terms of the mode of production, they nonetheless reveal the changing historical circumstances of documentary filmmaking in Taiwan during the 1970s, which then led to the emergence of the Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s.

5.2.1 The Independent Documentary in the 1960s and 1970s

Prior research acknowledges the documentary *Liu Bi-Chia* (1966) as the first Taiwanese film that demonstrates 'modern' concepts adopted from the conventions of Western documentaries (Lee Daw-Ming 2000; Han Xu-Er 2001; Wang Wei-Ci 2007; Lin Cong-Yu 2006). I argue that this distinction also distinguishes *Liu Bi-Chia* from the documentaries made by government-affiliated studios. Furthermore, in terms of *production mode*, I argue that *Liu Bi-Chia* and other documentaries that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s are early examples of the Taiwanese independent documentary.

Chen Yao-Chi made *Liu Bi-Chia* using 16mm film as his graduation project in Taiwan, while he was studying film production at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). He borrowed the film camera, a Bell & Howell compact,

from the government-affiliated China Film Studio (CFS) and Government Information Office (GIO) (Lee Daw-Ming 2000:448-9). In terms of the production mode, Chen's film was an individual production (*geren zhizuo*) that differed conceptually from the documentaries made by the authorities (Lin Cong-Yu 2006:18). 'It was the first Taiwanese documentary which had the 'modern form (*xiandai xingshi*)' and contained contemporary concepts of documentary-making…and it may be the first authentic documentary (not propaganda) in Taiwan (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 170; my translation)'. In addition, this documentary can claim to begin the first *Cinéma Vérité* in Taiwan (Wang Wei-Ci 2007: 12). The documentary itself is concerned with Mr. Liu Bi-Chia. Liu was a veteran who retreated to Taiwan with the KMT government from Mainland China. He was allocated to an agriculture unit in eastern Taiwan. As a film student, Chen Yao-Chi filmed that location to reveal the reality of Liu's life. The film depicted Liu's daily life as an ordinary person. In contrast to documentaries made by the authorities, *Liu Bi-Chia* did not contain any scripted narration. Although there was no sync-sound-recording, the documentary dubbed a soundtrack based on interviews (dubbed in English), with sound collected on location afterwards (Lee Daw-Ming 2010). Wang Wei-Ci indicates that *Liu Bi-Chia* adopted the concept of Cinéma Vérité (Wang Wei-Ci 2007: 12), which means the concept that was originated and developed by Jean Rouch. The Cinéma Vérité film with used the new lightweight equipment that had become available in the 1950s to shoot on location and without any rehearsal, but included interviews and narration from the filmed subject (Winston 2013: 15-17). The notion is different from the its contemporary, Direct Cinema, which also used lightweight equipment to shoot on location without rehearsal, but which originated in North America and refers to documentary-making that attempted to capture reality without the filmmakers' intervention (Saunders 2007). Therefore, interviews and narration by the filmed subject were not part of the Direct Cinema practice.

Liu Bi-Chia embodied new approaches to documentary that were absent from government political propaganda at that time. Before the film was released, in 1965, Chen Yao-Chi published an essay in *Juchang* (The Theatre) magazine to introduce the concepts of documentary-making adopted from western figures in documentary, including Robert Flaherty, John Grierson, and Jean Rouch (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 73). This indicates a strong likelihood that Chen Yao-Chi was aware of

Cinéma Vérité. Viewing the film, it includes interviews with and narration from the filmed subject—in this case, Mr. Liu Bi-Chia. Mr. Liu expresses his viewpoint through his interaction with the director. The form of *Liu Bi-Chia* was significantly different from the government documentaries of the time, which were composed with commentaries from the authorities but without the direct voice of the filmed subjects.

Liu Bi-Chia was premiered publicly in Chen Yao-Chi's personal screening along with his other film works in Taipei on 15th December 1967. The premiere influenced some intellectuals who worked in art and culture-related fields, including Zhuang Ling (ibid.). Zhuang Ling made the independent documentaries *Yan* (1966) and *The Newborn Baby* (1967) while he worked for the government-affiliated Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV), which was the first television station in Taiwan. He used resources from the television station to make independent documentaries in his spare time. According to an interview, Zhuang Ling knew Chen Yao-Chi before *Liu Bi-Chia* was made in the 1960s. Chen introduced Zhuang to several documentaries, and shared with Zhuang and other peers his knowledge of documentary studies from UCLA. For instance, Chen introduced Zhuang to *Nanook of the North* (1922). At that moment, Zhuang Ling was working TTV as a cameraman in the news division. He made *Yan* and *The Newborn Baby* in 16 mm (Wang Wei-Ci 2000: 320; 324). The film depicted Zhuang's pregnant wife and their newborn baby's first birthday. Although akin to a home-movie, this film was shown in film screenings to audiences and members of *Juchang* (The Theatre) Magazine—a cultural magazine published between 1965 and 1967 (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 170). Therefore, in terms of the production mode and concept, I argue that Zhuang Ling's works were independent documentaries in 1960s' Taiwan.

5.2.2 The Television Era in the 1960s and 1970s

As I discussed in previous sections, in the 1960s and 1970s, government control produced documentaries as forms of propaganda, and this was the only form of film documentary in this period. Government-affiliated television stations also controlled television documentary production. The government authorities saw

that television could serve the same purpose as film: as a vehicle to build ideological influence. However, the emergence of the television era also created opportunities for independent documentary production. Television professionals attempted to explore the grey zone within ideological censorship. They avoided sensitive political issues, and produced television documentaries in between the system and outside the system. In the 1970's, some alternative documentaries (such as the works of Zhang Zhou-Tang who I will discuss in more detail later) were also avant-garde in style.

After 1951, the Executive Yuan placed the development of Taiwan's television industry in the hands of the government (The Television Annual 1976: 7). Furthermore, in *The Appendix* to *Principles of the People's Livelihood* (1953), Chiang Kai-Shek claims that art is the highest form of entertainment, and can also protect one against communism. Chiang says that art should have educational purposes in order to distinguish it from the negativity of materialism. Furthermore, Chiang adds that film and radio are both forms of art and also forms of modern electronic education. He believed that most commercial films imported from overseas contained corrupt content that would harm the mental health of citizens, which led to government initiatives to support electronic education (Zheng Ming-Li 1994: 27). The first television station, TTV, was established in April 1962, and was actually owned by the KMT. The KMT-managed TTV monopolized television station was not a public station, but meant for political and economic purposes (Li Jin-Quan 1987: 186). The KMT controlled TTV through various means. For instance, the KMT allocated numerous *danggong* (KMT party workers) to TTV in order to set policies for television programmes (Xue Cheng-Xiong 1988: 25-6). The government kept a high percentage of TTV shares, allowing the KMT to control the behaviour of the television station (ibid.). They did the same with China Television Company (established in 1969), and the Chinese Television System (established in 1970) (Xue Cheng-Xiong 1988: 25; 46). This controlling strategy persisted well into the 1970s. Notably, the government authorities and television stations promoted both censorship and self-censorship as well.

At first, documentaries screening on TTV were produced by the TFS (Taiwan Film Studio). For example, the television programme *Taiwan Today* (*Jinri Taiwan*, 1967), produced newsreels that promoted government policies and introduced the scenery and local customs of Taiwan. Documentaries also appeared

on China Television Company (CTV) after its launch in 1969. However, these documentaries, such as *The News Collection* (*Xinwen Jijin*) (1971-1976), were still like newsreels; although they included minor expressions of editorial perspectives regarding culture (Wang Wei-Ci 2007: 13), they avoided political critique or social commentary. In that regard, just like the newsreels of the time, they simply echoed the official viewpoint without any critical perspective whatsoever.

After CTS went live in 1970, more television documentaries that reflected characteristics of experimental film were produced (Wang Wei-Ci 2007: 13). These documentaries revealed more of the producers and directors' perspectives. However, their content did not breach censorship regulations and mostly related to cultural or less sensitive social issues while avoiding more controversial political ones. The CTV's series *Sixty Minutes* (*Liushi Fenzhong*, 1978-1981) was one such show. It was adapted from the American *Sixty Minutes*. The content of Taiwan's version of *Sixty Minutes* consisted of social issues and individuals. In some ways it was like newsreel material, but some segments used commentary and gave the perspectives of the directors themselves. The documentary scholar Wang Wei-Ci suggests that CTV's *Sixty Minutes* is 'the pioneer of the (television) news magazine' and the first 'authentic' television documentary programme in Taiwan (Wang Wei-Ci 2000: 14). These features distinguished *Sixty Minutes* from earlier documentary forms that served as propaganda alone.

Zhang Zhao-Tang worked as a freelancer for the CTV news programmes *The News Collection* (1971-1976), *Sixty Minutes* (1978-1981), and on the television documentary series *Fragrant Formosa* (1974-1975). Zhang worked for a government-affiliated TV station while attempting to make television documentaries based on alternative concepts. According to his own account, he worked for the news division in CTV from 1969 as a daily news cameraman, and was put in charge of *The News Collection*, a weekly thirty-minute news programme, in 1971. Zhang focused this series on the arts, folk culture and daily life, and looked for subjects related to Taiwanese culture identity. In the programme, he attempted to collage music and film clips together, creating short films that appeared like music videos in some series (Zhang Zhou-Tang 2012: 55-6). *Sixty Minutes* followed the same tendency.

Zhang Zhou-Tang made the acclaimed documentaries *Good-bye Hongtong* (*Zaijian Hongtong*, 1978) which depicted a folk painter, and *The Feast of the King*

Boat (*wangchuan jidian*, 1980), which documented a vital folk religious ceremony in southern Taiwan. As documentaries, they were highly pioneering at the time. Both were shot on 16 mm. Instead of live recording, Zhang Zhou-Tang dubbed contemporary electronic music (for instance, by the British musician Mike Oldfield), with rapid editing, and highly contrasting cutting to create an 'avant-garde' film. Christopher Doyle, who went on to work as a cinematographer for filmmakers such as Wong Kar-Wai, shot *The Feast of the King Boat*.

After *The Feast of the King Boat* was broadcast, CTV received complaints from locals that took part in the feast, because the relatively conservative audience found its avant-garde concept difficult to accept. Hence, Zhang Zhou-Tang dubbed another version with a commentary and a soundtrack recorded on location, which was closer to the documentary conventions of the time, and broadcast it in the subsequent week's programme (Zhang Zhou-Tang 2012: 57).

Apart from his paid occupation, Zhang Zhou-Tang also made his own short 16 mm films using filmmaking facilities in the television station, such as *Instant Faces* (*Shuanjian de Rongyen*, 1972). According to Zhang's own account, *Instant Faces* was made when he was on duty in the television station. He shot the film himself using different speeds, and requested the developing division in the station to dye the film when developing it (Zhang Zhou-Tang 2012: 56). The film is a collage, with vague, overlapping images in three colours and an electronic music soundtrack. Lu Feii categorizes Zhang Zhou-Tang's documentary as a 'cinépoèm' (adopted from France in 1920s). This 'cinépoèm' reference was adopted from Richard Barsam's concept that described Dutch documentarian Joris Ivens' masterpiece *Rain* (1929) (Lu Feii 2001: 9). Barsam claims that Ivens' documentary is 'an avant-garde experimentation with the non-fiction film form' (Barsam 1992: 63). Therefore, much like *Rain,* Zhang Zhou-Tang's *Instant Faces* can also be categorized as experimental or avant-garde.

Zhuang Ling and Zhang Zhou-Tang were examples of individuals who worked for television stations or within their paid occupations, but made their own documentaries or avant-garde works outside the system. In terms of the contemporary social and industrial circumstances in this period, filmmaking facilities were not common, due to their high costs and barriers to developing filmmaking techniques. Government-controlled television stations became a grey zone for filmmakers, who could be trained there and had resources to create their

own documentaries. Although some documentaries were made with a sense of the avant-garde, the filmmakers' aims prioritized artistry over any pursuit of reality. Zhang Zhou-Tang started his professional career in the news divisions of television stations, but the documentary works that he made for television programmes were rebellions against the mainstream form of ordinary television documentaries and newsreels. However, Zhang's works cannot be considered instances of an independent documentary when defined in terms of the mode of production.

5.2.3 *Fragrant Formosa* (1974-1976)

In this section, I will examine the television documentary series *Fragrant Formosa* (*Fenfang Baodao*). This series revealed that documentaries by television professionals in the 1970s could be made with a long-term concept in mind; this differed from the system's perspective. In terms of production mode, *Fragrant Formosa* cannot be defined as an independent production due to media control, and because it was broadcast on the government-affiliated television stations. However, I argue that *Fragrant Formosa* was a milestone for the Taiwanese television documentary, and reveals how television professionals aimed to make documentaries differently within the system. *Fragrant Formosa* focused on local customs in Taiwan, making it totally different from the forms of policy propaganda made by the government institutions (Lu Feii 2001: 9). It was 'the first time that the Taiwanese local customs had been examined by the television camera' (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 171; my translation). This particular television documentary series was significantly different from the television newsreels and government propaganda at the time.

In 1971, Taiwan as the Republic of China withdrew from the United Nations and in 1978 the official political relationship between Taiwan and the USA ended. At that time, many nations recognized the People's Republic of China established by the Chinese Communist Party in 1949 as the official representative of 'China' instead of the KMT government in Taiwan (Cooper 2009: 208). These difficult political circumstances led the citizens of Taiwan to begin considering issues of nationalism and localism, and it was in this context that *Fragrant Formosa* was produced (Han Xu-Er 2001: 77). According to an interview with the

three key people who initiated the series, Zhang Wen-Xiong, Peng Guang-Zhao and Peng Chun-Fu, the original purpose of the series was to advertise washing powder, the main product of Guolian Industrial Company. Therefore, the copywriters of Guohe Production Company, which was supported by Guolian, developed a proposal for the television documentary series to focus on Taiwanese *xiangtu* (local) issues as a way of branding their product. In addition, instead of offering a budget to the television company to produce the documentary series, Guohe decided to produce the series themselves and broadcast it by purchasing the broadcasting hours from CTV (Lee Daw-Ming 2000: 87-9).

Guohe invited filmmakers who did not work for the government-affiliated television station, for instance, Huang Chun-Ming who worked for a commercial advertisement company, to work together with other experienced professionals who worked in the television stations such as Zhang Zhou-Tang and Yu Bing-Zhong to make up the production team. Guolian Industrial Company sponsored the budget for the entire series. Each episode had an average cost of 90 to 100 thousand New Taiwan dollars (approximately US$2,250- to $2,500) (Lee Daw-Ming 2000: 89; 93). Guohe produced some episodes, but the employed freelance filmmakers made the majority. The series still needed to pass both CTV and GIO censorshi *Fragrant Formosa* had themes related to local cultural and environmental issues, in the form of a kind of travelogue. It tried to avoid politically sensitive issues to obtain the necessary broadcasting permit. Apparently, the proposal for *Fragrant Formosa* was primarily conceived by Huang Chun-Ming, who was well-known for his Taiwanese nativist novels.

In addition, Guohe invited the KMT-owned Central Motion Picture Cooperation (CMPC to participate in the production. They used their 16mm film and sound-recording facilities. Guohe managed the remaining parts of the production procedure. CMPC recruited a new team for this project. However, they had no experience of making documentary films on cultural themes; they only had experience making propaganda for the authorities. This created strained relations between Guohe and the CMPC. Ironically, the nature of the CMPC benefited the production. For instance, when they applied to film in districts where access was restricted under Martial Law. CMPC could obtain permission relatively easily (Lee Daw-Ming 2000: 100-1). As a result, *Fragrant Formosa* was an unusual television documentary in the 1970s, because of its production mode and alternative manner

of filmmaking revealed intentions of making an alternative documentary within a system that exerted media control.

5.3 The Launch of Taiwanese Independent Documentary

In this section, I will demonstrate that after its emergence in the 1960s and 1970s, Taiwanese independent documentaries took off once media control was relaxed and martial law ceased in the late 1980s. I argue that the most significant characteristic of the Taiwanese independent documentary in this period is its use as a vehicle of social and political participation. The emergence of independent documentary production at the end of the 1980s was due to the changes in Taiwanese society as well as the end of martial law. Such changes were driven by some remarkable social and political events that happened between the 1970s and 1980s, which made a strong impact on media control and gave the public more space for freedom of speech. In addition, the innovation of electronic video created the possibility of making video documentaries independently without depending on the resources of television stations or film studios. Independent documentary production became possible and began to expand significantly. Furthermore, the independent documentary became a vehicle that could break the barriers of media control in the late 1980s, due to filmmakers' participation in social and political movements. In this section, I examine the changing social background of Taiwan in the 1980s, to analyze how it has led to the present-day thriving of independent documentary production. I also examine the impact of video on documentary production environment in Taiwan in the 1980s. Finally, I study Green Team as an example that demonstrates the key characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s.

5.3.1 The End of Martial Law

Media control in Taiwan began to decline due to various political movements and the end of martial law in the late 1980s, which facilitated independent documentary production. The most crucial political event leading to the end of martial law was the Formosa Incident (*Meilidao Shijian*) that happened

in 1979. Because of the Formosa Incident, political protesters could express their arguments in the media, leading to the relaxation of media control after many years of tight control (Li Xiao-Feng 1991: 155). Although making independent documentaries for political purposes such as participation in a political movement was still impossible in Taiwan at the time, the ripples from the Formosa Incident and the looser media controls made independent video documentary possible. In addition, concepts of alternative or radical media found expression through political magazines that appeared in the 1970s. These magazines became key media that broke through the barriers of media control and sparked political participation: the magazines became vehicles to justify free speech. Independent video documentaries became a new vehicle of choice after alternative perspectives in media became possible: the gradual deregulation of media control and the innovation of electronic camcorders began partly to substitute the function of political magazines.

In the 1970s, the *dangwai* (outside the dominant party) political movement was thriving in Taiwan. There were plenty of magazines that claimed their own unique political positions, such as *Tide* (*Xiachao*), *This Generation* (*Zheyidai*), *Taiwan Debate* (*Taiwan Zheng Lun*) and *Formosa* (*Meilidao*). Taiwanese intellectuals who were born and educated in Taiwan (as opposed to the *waisheng* people who came to the island with the KMT between 1945 and 1949) founded most of these magazines. Their political arguments were usually ranged against the KMT monopoly of power and asserted democracy and human rights in political terms (Li Xiao-Feng 1991: 155-7).

Formosa magazine was founded in May 1979 in Taipei. It asserted that the authorities should share political power with the *dangwai* Taiwanese politicians, and not just privilege the KMT government, which mainly consisted of *waisheng* people. In December 1979, on International Human Rights Day, *Formosa* planned to host a gathering in Kaohsiung City in south Taiwan. The government authorities rejected the application for the gathering, but the membership of *Formosa* decided to host the gathering as they had originally planned. Eventually, the authority prohibited the gathering. Participants who came from different areas of Taiwan became angry and the gathering became a violent protest. Members of *Formosa* were arrested and charged with sedition. However, numerous international media came to Taiwan to report what was happening. The pressure from the public was so severe on the government authorities that, instead of following their common

practice of secretly prosecuting in a military court, they decided to open the trial to the media. In the court, the arrested politicians expressed their political arguments, signifying, for the first time, that opposing political arguments could be broadcast to the public by government-controlled media. Thus, the Formosa Incident drove the authorities to loosen media control (Li Xiao-Feng 1991: 158-9).

After numerous *dangwai* political moments during the 1970s, in 1986, the newly established opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) urged the KMT authorities to end martial law (Xue, Zeng and Xu 2000: 235). The party organized a political movement named the 519 Green Movement to support this cause, and that the movement would gather annually. In 1987, after the second gathering, President Chiang Ching-Kuo announced the end of martial law on 15 July 1987 (Xue, Zeng and Xu 2000: 235). In 1988, the regulation of newspapers (*baojin*) were cancelled, and in 1993, cable television regulations were cancelled as well (Cooper 2009: 23). Furthermore, in 1994, the authorities opened the fourth terrestrial television station. Last, Formosa Television, which was supported by the DPP, was established in 1997 (Cooper 2009: 23-4).

5.3.2 New Video Facilities

The availability of new electric video production facilities was another key factor that helped independent documentary to launch successfully in Taiwan. The improving economic situation led to the affordability of electronic equipment. Household electronic video equipment became an alternative mode of dissemination, which avoided media control by the authorities.

In the 1970s, innovations in electronic video production that began in the USA gradually became a mainstream mode of video production (Lee Daw-Ming 1992: 24). Portability and accessibility made the electronic video camcorder become the main production equipment in television production, and for some film production institutions. For instance, the National Film Board of Canada made social issue videos using electronic video-making equipment. They trained indigenous people and others who lived in remote areas to make videos by themselves in order to better document their social circumstances (Atton 2002: 102). In these times, Michael Shamberg (1971) coined the concept of ‘guerrilla

television', which encouraged video to make and disseminate imagery that mainstream media failed to offer on television. Importantly, this form aimed to break through and subvert the barriers imposed by mainstream television stations intent on airing commercial material. Through guerrilla television, alternative media videos could spread information more widely.

In Taiwan, electronic video production began in the 1980s (Dun Cheng 1992: 25; Chen Liang-Fong 1998: 42), and, I argue, is directly responsible for the development of the Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s. A precondition in the 1970s was the rise of the Taiwanese economy, which made the home-use video player more affordable. According to the Taiwan database of National Statistics, the annual increase rate of national income (G.D.) between the 1970s and 1980s ranged from 11.02% and 22.75 %. VCR ownership rose from 3.75 % to 68.94 % between 1981 and 1991 (National Statistics Taiwan 1993: 13). Increasing presence of video players in Taiwanese family households encouraged others to make independent videos, which further encouraged independent documentary in Taiwan.

In addition, the '*disitai*' approach was used to release alternative videos. *Disitai* literally means 'fourth channel' and implies channels not controlled by the authorities. The *disitai* managed to avoid media censorship and not only helped independent video productions develop in Taiwan, but also aided the independent documentary. Specifically, these *disitai* films developed as a way to participate in political movements. For instance, as I will discuss later, the Green Team used *disitai* to release their own independent video documentaries.

Originally, the *disitai* was not meant to broadcast alternative information. Initially, its purpose was to resolve poor broadcast television coverage in the early years, especially in the remote countryside or mountainous areas where wireless signals were quite unstable, by using cable television to transmit the wireless signal at a local television station to individual family television sets; these cable transmissions were thus called 'the fourth channel' (He Yi-Mo 2002: 45). However, the cable service required payment of extra fees, and so cable service providers offered extra programmes, ranging from commercial films to Japanese television dramas. Most of the fourth channel was in the grey zone of media legislation. The use of a wireless station to receive and share the signal was legal, but screening unauthorized video programmes was not completely legal (ibid.). Afterwards, the

cable service developed into an alternative mode of dissemination for independent video production, as manifested in the independent documentary-making groups.

Therefore, the transformation of social and political circumstances in the 1970s and 1980s enabled the relaxation of media control. Along with the new electronic video-making facilities, these changes led to the emergence of independent documentary in Taiwan as a vehicle of social and political participation during the dynamic transition of Taiwanese society after the end of martial law.

5.3.3 Green Team Documentary

Various independent documentary production groups appeared in the late 1980s. For instance, there was the Green Team, Third Image Studio, Cultural Taiwan Image Studio and New Taiwan Studio. The Green Team (*Lüse Xiaozu*) was one of the most compelling organizations in this period because they lasted the longest time and created a substantial amount of independent documentaries. Before the formal end of martial law (1987), media was still controlled by government authorities, but not as strongly as before. Taking advantage of the social and political status quo, and the new electronic video-making facilities, the Green Team attempted to break down the barrier of television media control by making independent documentary films outside the television and film industry. The Green Team constructed their unique video release and screening network by funding themselves through the sale of their independent documentaries.

As mentioned before, Jiang Guan-Ming (1988, 1992) and He Zhou-Ti (1993) define the Green Team and other activist independent video filmmaking groups as a 'minority medium (*xiaozhong meiti*)' or alternative medium. However, from my historical perspective, the works of the Green Team and others can be better defined as independent documentaries. In this section, I will mainly examine the way that the Green Team presents the characteristics of the Taiwanese independent documentary. I will also describe how they used independent documentary filmmaking as a vehicle to participate in social and party political movements. I will analyze the Green Team as a case study through the following elements of the production mode: facilities, release and finance. In addition to

existing documents, the major data that I analyze include my interview with one of the three founders of the Green Team, Li San-Chong, and the archival video databases in the Newsreel and Documentary Film Archives at Tainan National University of the Arts.

According to an interview with the Green Team members, Wang Zhi-Zhang formed the group in 1986. Wang started to make documentary videos from 1984 by ENG (Electronic News Gathering). Wang's initiative was sparked by a sensational social incident in 1984. A coalmine collapse, known as the Haishan Coal Mine Disaster, resulted in many fatalities. However, the families of the victims did not receive reasonable pensions or further compensation from the owner of the mine. The mainstream media failed to report the incident objectively and did not reveal the truth about the victims' families. In light of this story, Wang invited his friend Zheng Wen-Tang, who worked in a television advertisement studio, to be the cameraman, and Wang borrowed a video camcorder from the studio. Wang and Zheng then made a video clip documenting the issue from a perspective that was very different from that of the mainstream media. After that, they hosted a press conference and screened the video, informing the public through their alternative perspective of the different facts concerning the coalmine incident. The press conference was successful, which led Wang to understand that video could be used as a tool for social movement participation (Zhang Bi-Hua 1989: A7).

In my interview with a key member of the Green Team, Li San-Chong, in 2011, in 1985, Wang Zhi-Zhang bought his own video camcorder and decided to document the coming elections in December 1986. That was the first time that the DPP opposition party was participating in democratic elections after the *dangwai* political movement of the 1970s. Because of this, it was quite important to make a documentary that transmitted information about the election. Therefore, Wang found another two members, Li San-Chong and Fu Dao through other friends, which then led to the official establishment of the Green Team in 1986 (Li San-Chong 2011). The Green Team's political purposes were clear. Since 1987, the end of martial law and the changing of political circumstances led to the rapid development of various political movements. Therefore, the video documentary became a vehicle to participate in such movements for the Green Team. In 1986, they made their first video documentary *The Taoyuan Airport Incident* (*Taoyuan jichang shijian*, 1986).

As discussed in previous sections, although the political circumstances were changing, and media control was loosening, the television stations and the television news were still controlled and censored by the government authorities (Xue Cheng-Xiong 1988: 48-9). Therefore, the *dangwai* political movements were still a taboo on mainstream television news. Under censorship, the television news could only show the positive faces of the government authorities; they distorted the political movements as riots and just highlighted what they saw as negative aspects of society (He Zhou-Ti 1993: 24-5). As a result, *The Taoyuan Airport Incident* was an example of an independent documentary that was made from the perspective of the opposition. It was intended to break the government authorities' control of the media and spread the truth as the opposition understood it. The documentary described the life of Xu Xin-Liang, a politician who was exiled to the United States due to his political stand after the Formosa Incident (1979). In November of 1986, he tried to return to Taiwan but was turned back by the authorities upon arriving at the Taoyuan International Airport. The event attracted numerous DPP supporters to gather in and outside the airport[14]. The documentary showed the entire incident on location without the interference of any commentary or interviews. This production was in sharp contrast to the mainstream television news which tried to raise a negative response from the public by describing those involved in the incident as unlawful rioters (Xue Cheng-Xiong 1988: 3). The perspective of this documentary was quite different from the mainstream television news. Elements such as the literal locations of the camera made it that the camera stood alongside the protesters most of the time.

After I viewed the documentary *The Taoyuan Airport Incident* and other works by the Green Team, the techniques of documentary filmmaking looked relatively poor. The form of the Green Team's video documentaries seemed more like the newsgathering, or the documentation of the events, than the documentary film with a critical perspective and complete narrative structure. However, I argue that the Green Team's independent video documentary embodies the concept of Direct Cinema that originated in North America between late 1950s and early 1960s. Direct Cinema refers to documentary-making that attempted to use state-of-

[14] Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hsu_Hsin-liang (wikipedia; accessed 10 July 2013)

the-art lightweight filmmaking facilities to capture reality without the filmmakers' intervention. In addition, ideally Direct Cinema follows the filmed subject instead of leading them, editing in chronological order, and only using diegetic sound. As with Direct Cinema, the Green Team used VHS camcorders to capture reality without the filmmakers' intervention, in order to represent the filmed circumstances truthfully. The members of the Green Team did not have a conscious knowledge of different ideas about documentary and fiction filmmaking, including the notion of Direct Cinema (Li San-Chong 2011). Nevertheless, the video-documentaries that they made manifested the characteristics of Direct Cinema, including non-intervention and straightforward documentation of political events, with no interviews or interaction with the filmed subjects, and editing in a chronological manner. With their surveillance-like documentaries, Green Team intended to offer the public independent documentaries that contrasted to the manipulated newsreels produced by the government-controlled media.

In addition, the concept of 'truth' here contrasts with the perspective of government controlled television news. In my interview with Li San-Chong, he said that the concept of documentary film was vague to the Green Team when they used the video documentary form to participate in directly political and social movements. All of the three key founders had no expertise in filmmaking. Although they might have been interested in film as spectators, they made video documentaries for social practice and to participate in directly political movements, instead of cinematic art. Therefore,

> '…we did not construct our ideas as film art, and we did not attempt to make videos in any cinematic art sense; the only thing that we were concerned with was using video to break the barrier of media control and fulfill the concept of social practice' (Li San-Chong 2011, my translation).

In terms of the mode of the documentary, I adopt the concept defined by Bill Nichols (2001); I argue that the Green Team documentaries can be defined as observational mode documentaries. In viewing the video documentaries made by the Green Team in the archives, although not every one of the video materials can be described as a 'complete video documentary', certain documentaries do show their political perspectives. Besides political movement documentaries, the Green

Team also made numerous independent documentaries related to other social and political issues. For instance, *Against Dupont in Liugang* (*Liugang Fan Dubong*, 1986) was a documentary about environment protection issues; *Children Yes, Nuclear No* (*Zhiyao Haizi Buyao Hezi*, 1988), was a documentary about the protest against a nuclear energy plant; while others addressed other social and political issues. The sales of these documentaries, which were more elaborate in terms of the production style, were not as good as their political movement documentaries. However, these documentaries do demonstrate that the Green Team was using independent video documentaries consciously as a way to participate in social and political party movements, and not merely for gathering news materials through the video-camcorder.

The Green Team's mode of production was flexible and mobile; they were able to follow the vigorous political activities that happened in 1987 and 1988, which was 'the most active period' of the *dangwai* political movement (He Zhou-Ti 1993: 46). Numerous political activities occurred daily in various forms, such as lectures, protests, political forums and so on. Eventually, the Green Team built a process to make videos rapidly and available for timely release and sale. The Green Team aimed to make video documentaries that could break the barriers of media control independently, spreading the information that mainstream media (especially television) would not report, or had reported but which was biased in favour of the authorities. Therefore, to achieve their purposes, Green Team constructed a network for production, funding and release outside the controlled media. They functioned parallel to the system that controls mainstream television.

In the following sections, based on my interviews, primary documents collected from my field research and the existing literature, I will analyse the production mode of the Green Team in terms of three factors: facilities, release and finance. My analysis argues that the Green Team was indeed a group that produced independent documentary. Specifically, how the Green Team made their films was the most significant characteristic of the Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s.

Facilities

After the 1970's, independent documentary production was made possible for the Green Team due to electronic video production and the availability of facilities that allowed independent video documentaries to be made. The facilities used by Green Team to make independent documentaries were all electronic, which was different from the government propaganda or newsreels in the early years. The features of electronic facilities not only included affordable prices, but also flexible operations and easier procedures for video making. In my interview, Li San-Chong said, the Green Team attempted to construct an ENG network in the main cities of western Taiwan, which meant that they deployed camera crews in different cities to document the social and political activities happening there, and transported the footage back to Taipei, the head studio of the Green Team, via the super highway on the same day. After gathering the footage from different cities, and doing post-production, they moved the videos back to the other cities through the same method and released them to the public on the next day. However, in the end, this effort to build a network failed because of lack of manpower and financial support (Li San-Chong 2011).

Release

As discussed in prior sections, the authorities controlled the television channels. However, the Green Team built alternative approaches to release their videos. To go against mainstream television stations and circulate their work efficiently outside the system, the Green Team did not seek approval from government censorship authorities. Thus, besides delivering the videos to members directly, they also built various underground solutions to release their videos and avoid censorship. They successfully continued to show documentaries to the public.

Li San-Chong indicates that the main approaches that the Green Team used to release their videos were: video dealers, sales on the spot at DPP branches, screening tours, and illegal wireless television stations. Afterwards, some of the release modes used by Green Team became inspirational examples for other documentary makers during later political movements (Lin San-Chong 2011).

There were more than sixty video dealers who sold Green Team documentaries all over Taiwan (Zhang Bi-Hua 1989: A7). Most of the dealers were vendors in night markets or video rental shops. The products offered to the dealer were mainly documentaries that the Green Team made as an elaborate special release to the market (Li San-Chong 2011).

In addition, Li San-Chong said, the Green Team also established sales spots at around forty DPP branches in different counties. The product that was offered to DPP branches was different from that sold by other vendors. In addition to selling independent documentaries, the Green Team also provided free copies of the documentaries for political movement purposes and also some newsreel documentaries about news events that happened the day before. These sales constructed a kind of underground economy. Furthermore, the Green Team also organized screening tours to show documentaries around Taiwan, and especially in the remote countryside. After the 520 Incident in 1988, which was the first protest by farmers after the end of Martial Law, the Green Team started to host travel screenings in order to reach the people who lived in the countryside as well as farmers who faced similar situations along with the people who joined the 520 Incident. The Green Team prepared screening facilities and brought them to the countryside for these screenings. After the screenings, the audience participated in discussions and expressed their opinions directly. The Green Team also once attempted to set up an illegal medium-powered television station. Li San-Chong recalled that, in 1989, the election for the heads of Taipei County was intense; the authorities blocked information that supported the DDP party. In order to break the barrier of media control, the Green Team smuggled in a wireless station from overseas and set it up at the office of DPP election candidate You Qing. They broadcast video to spread news about political activities that could not be seen on the mainstream television news. However, this approach was not really successful, because illegal television was not yet mobile, and could easily be tracked down by the authorities and banned (Li San-Chong 2011).

Finance

As an independent documentary group, the Green Team funded their own budget for video documentaries made outside the system. In the interview, Li San-

Chong said, despite the nature of the Green Team being close to the DPP, the Green Team did not accept financial support from the DPP to remain independent. The Green Team's budget came from two main sources: sponsoring members, and video sales (Li San-Chong 2011). Although funding was important to the Green Team to help produce their independent documentaries, their decision to seek such funding suggests that they primarily made documentaries for widespread consumption and not commercial benefit. In addition, the Green Team made independent documentaries to participate in political movements. Their budgets reflected distinctions that separated their independent videos from other documentaries produced for commercial or propaganda purposes.

According to He Zhou-Ti, income from membership was the primary solution for funding the Green Team; the Green Team recruited sponsors when they were first established. The agreement asked each member to contribute $500 NTD ($12.5 USD) per month, and in return, the Green Team offered a political movement video monthly. Initially, the members were friends and relatives of the Green Team, but the income from membership was still not enough to support the organization. In addition, Green Team videos were not meant for members only, but were also intended for widespread consumption and greater participation in political movements. Therefore, the Green Team decided to release the documentaries for sale (He Zhou-Ti 1993: 64).

Soon, the sale of independent documentary videos became the main source of income for the Green Team. In the beginning, the Green Team was not anticipating that their documentaries could be made for sale. However, they needed the budget to make more video documentaries. The first documentary they made, *The Taoyun Airport Event* was popular and profitable. Due to this success, they decided to make a series of political election documentaries for their political movement purposes, while also making money for further documentary productions. The content of the documentaries they made for political activities revealed different points of view from the mainstream television news, drawing people who were concerned about political issues and willing to buy the videos (ibid., 74-6).

In the middle of 1988, the Green Team started to experience financial difficulty and started to decline. The reduction of video prices due to the establishment of and competition from other similar video groups, along with

pirated copies of their political movement videos, reduced the Green Team's income. In He Zhou-Ti's interview with Wang Zhi-Zhang (1993), Wang explained how piracy harmed sales. He said that at the beginning, higher prices were acceptable ($600 NTD, or around $15 USD), because the buyer usually thought that they were contributing to the political movement by buying those videos. But, after 1987, another video group, The Third Image Studio (*Disan Yingxiang*) priced their videos at one third of the Green Team price. This competition drove the Green Team to follow suit. However, although the number of customers who bought the videos increased, customers also started to choose the content they wanted; thus, they bargained with the Green Team and did not continue to support us as before (ibid., 89).

Pirating was a significant problem. As an independent video documentary filmmaking group, profit was not of concern for the Green Team, because they primarily wanted to simply spread the video and engage in the political movement issues. After the Green Team started to make independent documentaries in the late 1980s, the videos they made did not pass the censorship procedure and thus had no legal copyright protection. Initially, the Green Team was not worried about this issue, because the budget of video production did not come from the sale of the video, but from memberships (ibid., 88-9). Indeed, since the purpose of the Green Team documentaries was participation in political movements, pirated video became an alternative mode for spreading videos to the public.

However, after 1988, whenever Green Team decided to release a documentary, the pirated version of their work harmed the sales of their official release significantly. For example, according to a survey by He Zhao-Ti (1993), the influence of pirates on sales of the documentary, *520 Incident (520 Shijian*, 1988), almost caused the end of the Green Team due to financial crises. The Green Team produced 32,000 copies for sale, but the pirated versions made their official copies unsaleable and around seven to eight thousand copies had to be returned to the dealers. These circumstances drove the Green Team towards a severe financial crisis and forced them to consider ending their group (He Zhao-Ti 1993: 88-90).

Furthermore, relaxed media control after the end of Martial Law in 1987 led the mainstream media to start reporting the political news that they could not broadcast before (see Chapter 6). In my interview, Lin San-Chong said economic issues forced the Green Team to reconsider their future careers. In 1988, the Green

Team reached their peak; there were seven full-time members in their studio. At the same time, the Green Team started to change their focus from political issues towards more social issues. Specifically, they planned to make more documentaries that were not only dependent on political events, but also contained their perspectives on social issues and their political commentary. Furthermore, the Green Team wanted to cooperate with the *disitai* cable television channels. However, their efforts failed eventually due to the challenges of social and political reality (Li San Chong 2011).

Under media control, as an independent documentary group, the Green Team never registered as a legitimate studio in terms of formal regulations. According to the database in the archives, they made more than three hundred independent video documentaries between 1986 and 1988. However, they were only been inspected officially once in 1988 after releasing the documentary on the 520 Incident. In my interview, Li San Chong recalled that after the Green Team released that documentary, which included scenes of innocent civilians being arrested by the police, this made the authorities unhappy and they conducted an inspection of the Green Team's studio. However, the inspection was more of a warning rather than a legal action. In addition, the authorities tried to interfere with the Green Team while they were documenting the social and political events on location. For instance, the authorities obstructed or delayed their filming. But they never banned Green Team from filming or actually confiscated their equipment and video footage (Li San-Chong 2011).

In the period between the late 1980s and early 1990s, as mentioned above other independent video groups were founded. These groups also aimed to participate in political and social movements through independent documentary production. However, most of these groups did not last long. Similarly, after 1990, the Green Team faded from the world of independent documentary filmmaking. A precise history and account of this fading away would require a separate research project.

To conclude, the concept of the Taiwanese independent documentary in the period between the 1960s and 1970s was mixed with avant-garde ideas and attempts to break away from the television documentary and newsreel forms. However, the changing social background, including the end of martial law and

new electronic video-making equipment made independent documentary production comprehensively possible in the 1980s. Thus, the 1980s became the primary era when the Taiwanese independent documentary emerged clearly. Furthermore, the most significant characteristic of the Taiwanese independent documentary at this moment was using independent documentaries as vehicles of social and political movement participation. However, the characteristics of the Taiwanese independent documentary are varied, and have changed with the changes in the social and political environment in Taiwan. In the following chapter, I will demonstrate the different dimensions of the Taiwanese independent documentary between the late 1980s and the mid-1990s. This is the period where independent documentaries became works on the social issues of marginalized peoples, intended to arouse the consciences of audiences.

Chapter 6:
Taiwanese Independent Documentary - Expressing Social Concerns from the Late 1980s to the Mid-1990s

Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that within the genre of independent documentary in Taiwan between the late 1980s and the mid-1990s, another branch emerged and developed. It involved three aspects: Firstly, it adopted and strengthened the mode of production used in political movement documentaries, but then concerned itself with different issues such as broader social concerns. Secondly, rather than people with no filmmaking background, it featured documentarians with backgrounds in film production, which led to different forms of Taiwanese independent documentary. In particular, these documentarians started to become concerned with the language of film at this time. Thirdly, this branch of independent documentary woke up to the potential of this style of film to drive new forms of community development in the mid-1990s.

In the previous chapter, I described the most significant characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s as its use as a vehicle for political involvement outside the existing political establishment and its control of the media. They also helped to spread alternative viewpoints that the mainstream media would never touch. The aim of these documentaries was mainly to champion and claim ownership of particular political arguments. However, there were also other types of independent documentaries emerging in the late 1980s which were influential in their own way. They adapted and strengthened the production mode used by political documentary makers, but were actually much more concerned with social issues than politics. Existing research on this period of the late 1980s to mid-1990s is vague and focused on Taiwanese documentary in general. However, I suggest that this period is a vital moment in the development of Taiwanese independent documentary and needs to be considered in its own light.

I will look particularly at Full Shot Studio as an essential part of this development. As discussed in the literature review chapter, Lin Cong-Yu (2006) claims that Full Shot Studio is a separate 'paradigm' in terms of Taiwan's documentary development in the 1990s. Chen Liang-Feng (1998) argues that Full Shot Studio promoted the concept of 'popular documentary (*minzhong jilupian*)' through their documentary-making workshops. However, I will suggest that the mode of documentary-making in Full Shot Studio's workshops and among other key documentary makers is indeed also independent documentary.

In the following sections, I will examine changes in independent documentary production in Taiwan during this post-martial law period of the late 1980s to mid-1990s, and then set out the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary during the period. I will do this based mainly on my interviews with documentarians and the independent documentaries that I have collected and examined. Firstly, I will explore the impact of newspaper deregulation and the broader loosening of media control. The end of martial law created media freedom of speech so the media could begin at last to concern themselves with sensitive political issues that they did not dare to report before. In this way, newly established newspapers became a substitute for the independent documentaries made by the likes of the Green Team which had previously broken ground in exploring political issues. When it came to TV, however, the pace of loosening media control by the authorities was relatively slower than for newspapers, with television news only gradually substituting the function that independent video documentary used to carry out. Secondly, I will consider *Ren Jian* magazine, a vital publication that existed between 1985 and 1989 - the crucial period of the actual cessation of martial law. I argue that *Ren Jian* magazine had a profound influence on Taiwanese independent documentary from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. *Ren Jian* used the forms of documentary photography and reportage to reveal aspects of the marginalized society that had been ignored before by the mainstream media, such as indigenous people and labour issues. The reportage methods of *Ren Jian* helped to influence documentarians to make independent video documentaries using a similar approach but with moving images. For instance, at the outset, Full Shot Studio adopted some reportage themes from *Ren Jian* to make independent documentary using the participatory mode identified by Bill Nichols, when the researcher (or documentarian) 'goes into the field, participates in the lives of others,

gains a corporeal or visceral feel for what life in a given context is like, and then reflects on this experience, using the tools and methods of anthropology or sociology to do so' (Nichols 2001: 15-16). As a result, participatory documentary gives us a sense of what it is like to be there and actually to participate in the changing of the situation (ibid.).

Thirdly, the late 1980's saw the advent of another direction for Taiwanese independent documentary production. The documentarians not only concerned themselves with social issues in their independent documentaries, they also started to explore the form of documentary with a greater sense of filmic language and use of the narrative mode. This was different to the work of Green Team which was focused on simply recording political-social events. For instance, Full Shot Studio and Firefly Studio started to make documentaries to set out their social aspirations using their professional filmmaking techniques. For instance, they employed editing and music that combined to match the characteristics of the feature film. This served to emphasis the independent nature of their documentaries at that moment. I will analyze documentarians and their works to demonstrate this special characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary that existed in the late 1980s to the mid-1990s.

In the early to mid-1990s, Taiwanese independent documentary became a medium for the development of community consciousness. In 1994, the government Community Development Project was introduced by the Council of Cultural Affairs. I will explain the concept of this Community Development Project, and examine how independent documentary started to engage with community development in the mid-1990s. Various sources began to support independent documentary making for specific purposes in the mid-1990s. For instance, the Council of Cultural Affairs supported Full Shot Studio in hosting documentary workshops. These were set up to train local people to make independent documentaries that could encourage the development of community consciousness. The independent documentary became a form of 'local speaking up (*zaidi fasheng*)' (Chen Liang-Feng 1998: 51). The workshops not only strengthened the concept of Full Shot Studio's documentaries to record issues of social concern, but also facilitated independent documentary-making in becoming a compelling phenomenon in Taiwan afterwards.

6.1 A New Direction for Taiwanese Independent Documentary

In this part, I will examine the relaxation of media control after the cessation of martial law to reveal how the mainstream media gradually began to take over from independent documentary makers when it came to covering political issues. I will also analyze the relationship between *Ren Jian* magazine and Taiwanese independent documentarians, with a special focus on the iconic Full Shot Studio. They became known for independent documentaries reflecting the margins of society and made a lasting impact on the Taiwanese independent documentaries that followed, where social concerns became a vital characteristic. As I will demonstrate in the following sections, in the late 1980s, independent documentary adopted and strengthened the mode of production used in the earlier party political movement documentaries. Independent documentary turned significantly towards an exploration of the issues affecting the margins of society. The cessation of martial law in 1987 and the change in the policy of media control were vital drivers for this shift. The liberated mainstream media started to engage with political issues that they could not touch before due to their sensitive nature under martial law and state censorship. Effectively, the mainstream media began to take over the previous role of the independent documentaries.

6.1.1 The Relaxation of Media Control

Media control and eventual deregulation were firmly connected with the circumstances of Taiwan's politics. The 1940s had given rise to a new Civil War between the Kuomintang (KMT) led by Chiang and the Chinese Communists led by Mao. The KMT was forced to retreat from Mainland China to Taiwan. In May 1949, before the KMT government completed their withdrawal, the Taiwan Province Government announced the implementation of martial law in the province (Cooper 2009: 46-9). This act was the start of a system of media control that would last for almost 40 years (1949 to 1987). The eventual end of martial law in 1987

allowed the mainstream television news finally to have the freedom needed to report on once prohibited issues, which had been covered by independent video productions like of the Green Team. In addition, there was a significant relaxation of the press laws, allowing greater freedom of content in the burgeoning newspaper sector.

The KMT government used 'newspaper limitation' regulations (*baojin*) to control freedom of speech. However, with looser media control a much freer press could emerge from 1988 onwards. According to the research on newspaper regulations by Guo Liang-Wen and Tao Fang-Fang, with the launch of the Publication Law (*chuban fa*) and ministry regulations from the Executive Yuan in 1951, the KMT government put newspaper distribution regulations in place, ostensibly to save paper. These included regulations to: prevent the licensing of new newspapers (*xian zhao*); restrict existing newspapers to only three pages per day (*xian zhang*); and require that the printing of newspapers be in the same county as the newspaper's registration (*xian yin*). These limitations made it difficult for any further development and extension of the printed press in this period (Guo Liang-Wen & Tao Fang-Fang 2000: 60).

The regulations made it hard for newspapers to be circulated in other counties in Taiwan beyond their base. Because of these strict regulations, only newspapers with strong financial support could circulate more widely by investing in newspaper delivery systems that were able to break through the barrier. For instance, a newspaper printed in Taipei needed more than eight hours to get to eastern Taiwan. Such slow distribution limited the value of daily news and made it impossible for the evening newspaper to circulate through a wider, national network (ibid., 67-8).

Such regulations limited the ability of newspapers to grow. The main newspapers were also heavily invested in by the governing KMT. During this period of tight newspaper regulation, the newspaper industry consisted of: two papers belonging to the Taiwan Provincial Government, five belonging to the KMT, seven belonging to the military, and another 14 run by civil enterprises. Therefore, nearly 50% of newspapers were owned by the authorities (ibid., 64). In addition, government employees, the military, schools and local government offices were required to buy newspapers owned by the authorities, using either personal or public money. This strategy helped to finance the controlled press so that it could

be a channel to promote government policy, for instance, this included *Zhongyang Daily*, *Zhonghua Daily*, *Taiwan Xinsheng News*, *Taiwan Xinwen News* and *Qingnian Zhanshi Newspaper* (ibid.). According to an official document from the Government Information Office (GIO), there were 146 new newspaper applications when deregulation came in 1988 (ibid., 65). Suddenly, there was intense competition in the sector between the old press and these brash new players. Along with loosened media control and changing social and political circumstances, news of which drove circulation, the press was finally offering news of sensitive political and social issues to satisfy the demands of readers.

In the television medium, relaxation policy also began to apply. At that time, there were three terrestrial wireless television stations in Taiwan. Formosa Television was established as the fourth in 1997. In addition, the previously illegal *disitai* channels (cable television; see Chapter 5) gradually became legitimatized following the 1993 Cable Television Law. Cable television then became an alternative to broadcasting. However, terrestrial television kept ahead of cable in respect of news broadcasts. I conclude that the relatively slow progress of media deregulation in television led the independent documentary-making sector to be the voice of social concerns, which seemed still to be neglected elsewhere. There was no real need for them to be involved in politics as mainstream newspapers had now assumed this role. There were two instances in the early 1990s that showed just what independent documentaries could do: the television series, *Witness the Election* (*Xuanju Jianzheng Dasi*) (1989) and the production of *A Changing Taiwan* (*Tuibian zhong de Taiwan*) (1990).

Witness the Election was a television documentary series produced by *New News* (*Xin Xinwen*) magazine. According to an interview with producer Zhou Tian-Rui, in 1980, they decided to make a video documentary series to document an election which an opposition party was contesting for the first time. Zhou Tian-Rui claims that he intended to deploy a production mode that was different from the techniques used by the Green Team and other video independent documentary groups such as The Third Studio (*Disan Yingxiang*), New Taiwan (*Xin Taiwan*), and Cultural Taiwan (*Wenhua Taiwan*) in the late 1980s. They had made independent video documentaries to highlight political issues. Zhou attempted to bring the political documentary into the modern TV context so that it was both acceptable to the authorities and profitable to make. Therefore, unlike the Green

Team (and other groups), Zhou was dedicated to making his series “fit for television”. Notwithstanding his intention, the series did not pass television censorship control and failed to obtain the necessary permit. As a result, Zhou Tian-Rui chose to host the screening by hiring his own venue to release this television documentary series (Lin Zhi-Xiang 1990: 101). Another case shows how TV remained a relatively difficult zone for political issues. This was *A Changing Taiwan*, produced by Lee Daw-Ming. Lee presented this five episode television documentary series to the Public Television Unit (PTU, later to become the Public Television Service) in 1989. The series contained political, social and environmental issues aiming to reveal changes in Taiwanese society at that time. However, after the first episode, about an election, further broadcasts were stopped by the commissioning station, the PTU. It is reasonable to assume that the authorities had stepped in to stop the rest of the series since PTU was funded by the government. Series production stopped and completed episodes never made it to air (Ma Xi-Yu 1990: 113). These two instances showed that television documentaries related to political issues remained rather more sensitive than the political coverage in newspapers. With this context, it was predictable that independent documentarians would shift their primary focus towards marginal society instead of sensitive political issues. So, even with a supposed relaxation of political control of all forms of media, the evidence suggests that political documentaries remain a rarity still in Taiwan (Kuo Li-Hsin 2004). In addition, video documentary groups or individuals that made independent videos to encourage greater party political involvement among the population, such as the Green Team, gradually vanished in the early 1990s (refer to chapter 5).

6.1.2 *Ren Jian* Magazine

It is worth exploring the influence of the publication *Ren Jian* (the world of mortals; Life) magazine that launched in 1985, I suggest, because *Ren Jian* directly affected the development of independent documentary-making in the late 1980s to mid-1990s, shifting concern from directly political participation (widespread in the 1980's) towards social issues. Full Shot Studio epitomizes this shift. Moreover, the appearance of *Ren Jian* has led to huge impacts in all sorts of areas right across

Taiwan. As I will demonstrate in this section, *Ren Jian* set up a paradigm for using the medium as an approach to practice social participation, as distinct from the political movement participation of late 1980's and afterwards. *Ren Jian* undertook relatively long-term participation for investigating social issues instead of making news report-style documentaries. Similar concepts and characteristics to those of *Ren Jian* appeared in numerous independent documentaries made in the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, clearly affirming the strong connection between them.

Ren Jian magazine was concerned with social issues, particularly around the marginalization of certain Taiwanese people. It used documentary photography and reportage. The founder of *Ren Jian*, Chen Ying-Zhen, claimed a left-wing attitude as the core concept of the magazine, making it a form of radical media that called for social justice for those deemed as 'weak' (*ruoshi*). *Ren Jian* was published between 1985 and 1988 with a total of 47 issues, but ceased publishing because of financial difficulties (Liu Yi-Jie 2000: 34-6).

There is a lot of research showing that *Ren Jian* magazine has indeed had a strong impact on Taiwanese society, and was important in focusing on the prevailing social issues. Kuo Li-Hsin argues that *Ren Jian* magazine is the most influential source of social documentary photography in the second-half of the 1980s (Kuo Li-Hsin 2007: 52). Before Taiwanese independent documentary filmmakers shifted their attention from politics to wider social issues, *Ren Jian* played an important role in documenting the situation of marginalized society, a topic that the mainstream media (especially television) ignored. *Ren Jian* reported those social issues through reportage and documentary photography to unveil the hidden faces at the edge of society. This was done to awaken the public's awareness of other issues besides current political and social phenomena, since numerous unreported and unjustified events occurred in society. Thus, the issues that *Ren Jian* reported on indicated how the members of *Ren Jian* used their publication as an innovative approach to change Taiwanese society (Xu Zhen-Fu 2009: 10).

Xu Zhen-Fu argues that the approach of the reporting writers in *Ren Jian* magazine was different from the *China Times* and *United Daily News*, two of Taiwan's leading newspapers at that time. *Ren Jian* encouraged the writer to take their own perspective on the issues they explored and observed. As claimed by the magazine's founder, this reportage along with the documentary photography in *Ren*

Jian magazine helped to publicize previously unreported social issues to the public, and from a left wing perspective (ibid., 35).

Numerous photographers in *Ren Jian* magazine became cameramen or filmmakers making documentaries for television later. This made it possible for them to choose documentary content influenced by *Ren Jian*. Chen Hong-Dai suggests that the style and concept of documentary photography in *Ren Jian* has indeed affected the concept of documentary photography in Taiwan afterwards. *Ren Jian* stressed the content of the photos more than their form (Chen Hong-Dai 2006: 105), making photography a vehicle to disseminate the core concepts of the magazine. Furthermore, most of the stories in *Ren Jian* featured black and white photos accompanied by lengthy text. The photos usually occupied the majority of the space in the magazine's layout and 'documentary photographs in *Ren Jian* served generally as on-location evidence to show that what has been written (about) really happened' (Kuo Li-Hsin 2007: 53).

Between 1985 and 1988, *Ren Jian* covered 583 stories over 40 categories of subject (Kuo Li-Hsin 2007: 52). Issues included culture, history, environmental protection, labour, agriculture, indigenous people, and so on. The coverage highlighted marginalized groups in society and related issues of injustice. One notable example was the case of Tang Ying-Shen (*Tang Ying-Shen shijian*) that happened in 1986. Tang Ying-Shen was an 18-year-old Tsou tribe man of indigenous Taiwanese origin who came from the mountainous area in central Taiwan. Tang studied in junior college with government support to be a primary school teacher, which was a good career choice to most of the Taiwanese indigenous elite then. To help his family's economic circumstances, Tang worked in a laundry shop in Taipei during the long vacation. According to the report in *Ren Jian*, the employer was racially prejudiced and treated Tang unfairly due to his indigenous background, asking him to work overtime without providing a reasonable and decent amount of welfare and salary. In addition, the employer verbally abused Tang with rude language and showed prejudice towards him simply because Tang belonged to the indigenous people. In those times, discrimination in Taiwan between different ethnically Chinese groups such as the Minnan (Fukien-Chinese), Hakka and *waisheng* people who migrated to Taiwan after 1949 with KMT government and the indigenous Taiwanese (migrants to Taiwan before the Han-Chinese migration) remained unspoken. Eventually, an

argument tipped an extremely angry and depressed Tang "over the edge", resulting in him killing three people—the whole family of the laundry owner. *Ren Jian* reported the case and claimed that the homicide Tang committed was driven by the unjust circumstances he faced, and said that the court should consider the specifics of the situation and judge him fairly. Nevertheless, Tang Ying-Shen was sentenced to death for his crimes (Guan Hong-Zhi 1986: 92-113). *Ren Jian* described this case in detail using documentary photography and reportage, giving perspectives on bringing justice to racial discrimination issues in society. This contrasted with newspaper and television news which presented the case as merely a standard crime report. With this case, *Ren Jian* acted independently, and its approach reflected many similarities to independent documentaries.

Other notable news story from *Ren Jian* magazine covered issues related to Lanyu (Orchid Island). Unlike political documentary makers, *Ren Jian* got involved in the story over the long term so they could make a real in-depth investigation of the social issues. Lanyu is a remote island 110 km off the east coast of Taiwan Island. The isolation of the island allowed the Tao tribe to live in a way that was relatively untouched by modern civilization. Therefore, uniqueness of the indigenous culture of the Tao (also known as Yami) people has made Lanyu an anthropological treasure since the Japanese colonial period. In order to conserve its culture and society for anthropological research, an isolation policy had been applied to Lanyu since the 19th century. When the KMT government retreated to Taiwan, Lanyu was gradually opened to the public, especially tourists coming from mainland Taiwan, but it remained a marginalized region in the territory of Taiwan. These specific circumstances created severe social problems for the Tao.

Guan Xiao-Rong had been a reporter for *Ren Jian* since 1987 and had started to report on Lanyu looking at social and cultural issues, but not as an anthropologist. He delivered reports with black-and-white documentary photography to explore the challenges faced by the Tao people. For instance, the Han-Chinese domination of education invaded the Tao traditions and there were also issues with healthcare due to a relatively sudden influx of tourists. Guan Xiao-Rong used an observational and participatory documentary approach to record the social impact from mainland Taiwan after the deregulation of Lanyu in the late 1970s. Chen Jia-Qi argues that although Guan Xiao-Rong was not the first photographer to document Lanyu, Guan's reportage and photo documents was

much richer than that of other reporters and photographers. In fact, in order to document the issue of Lanyu, Guan spent a year living on the island and undertook extensive investigations. The reporting and documentary photography series that Guan published in *Ren Jian* contained perspectives and critiques regarding the issues facing Lanyu and its people, and made Guan distinct from other photographers who had documented Lanyu before (Chen Jia-Qi 2002: 3). Moreover, Chen Jia-Qi quotes perspectives from Kuo Li-Hsin, Zhang Zhao-Tang and Wu Jia-Bao, which suggest that Guan expressed radical thoughts through his reporting about Lanyu, and was in fact trying to challenge dominant Han-Chinese concepts in order to establish a perspective that supported the indigenous people. Therefore, the approach that Guan used with documentary photography was indeed vital for the development of Taiwanese documentary photography in the 1980s (ibid., 6-7).

Ren Jian magazine influenced the concept of reportage and documentary photography, inspiring Taiwanese independent documentary in subtle ways. As an alternative medium, *Ren Jian* magazine revealed perspectives of marginal society that were ignored by the mainstream media. In addition, whilst Taiwanese independent documentary focused on political issues, and had been a vehicle of political participation in late 1980s, *Ren Jian* commenced to engage with the issues of marginal society. In this way, social concern was beginning to become a vital characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary at that moment. Notably, as I will demonstrate in detail in the subsequent section (6.2.1), in my interview with Wu Yi-Feng, the founder of Full Shot Studio, Wu acknowledged that some of the themes of Full Shot Studio's independent documentaries were adopted from *Ren Jian* magazine and this evidenced the very real impact of the magazine on this vital Taiwanese independent documentary group.

6.2 Independent Documentary Production and the Social Concerns

The impact of social circumstances was vital to the development of independent documentary in late 1980s to 1990s' Taiwan. Especially after the end of martial law in 1987, the relaxation of media control resulted in the independent documentary's focus shifting to social concerns. In this section, I will give examples of independent documentary productions, including organizations and individual documentarians in the late 1980s to mid-1990s to analyze the mode of production and demonstrate the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in the period. The research material is based on primary materials including my interviews and unreleased independent documentaries collected directly from documentarians. I also quote interviews from existing literature/research but with some different interpretations in terms of the historical aspects. As I will analyze in this section, most independent documentaries that emerged in this period chose to record issues related to the margins of society which were consistently ignored by mainstream media then. Examples of the subjects covered include indigenous peoples, labour and subjects related to inaccessible regions such as mountainous areas and remote islands.

In addition, in this period, independent documentarians began to explore the form of documentary as a film genre, either because of their professional training background or personal interest. Although cinematic creativity was not their main aim in making documentaries, they still pursued mature documentary form, rather than just documenting the event or characters on film but without a coherent structure. Documentarians were able to construct their films following filmmaking conventions, adopting the participatory mode and the concept of Cinéma vérité, and they released their independent documentaries to film festivals, film competitions, and television channels instead of showing them using alternative approaches such as private travelling screenings and *disitai* cable television. Generally speaking, I suggest that this 1990's period was a bridge between the beginnings of the independent documentary in late 1980s and the greater vigor of independent documentary-making after the mid-1990s. In comparison with documentaries made

in the 1980s to promote party political participation, documentaries made in early to mid-1990s' Taiwan were closer to the concept of the documentary as defined in 1960s' Western Europe and North America.

6.2.1 Full Shot Studio Documentary

Full Shot Studio (*Quanjing Yingxiang Gongzuoshi*) was an important independent documentary production organization established in 1988. As I discussed in chapter 2, Lin Cong-Yu claims that Full Shot was the 'paradigm' of Taiwanese documentary in the 1990s. Lin indicates that, before the 1990s, government propaganda was the 'paradigm' of Taiwanese documentary (Lin Cong-Yu 2006: 52). The film scholar Li Yong-Quan also suggests that Full Shot Studio was one of the key schools in documentary making and impacted the form of Taiwanese documentary in general after the 1990s (Li Yong-Quan 2001: 59). Most of the prior research places Full Shot Studio in the history of Taiwanese documentary in general, but does not see it as independent documentary. However, some other research does claim that Full Shot Studio's works is independent documentary, for instance, Wang Wei-Ci (2007: 23) and Han Xu-Er (2001: 116), but they do not really elaborate on the definition of independent documentary from a historical perspective. In the following section, I will examine Full Shot Studio and how it is related to the social background between the late 1980s and 1990s. Also, I will discuss how it has fashioned the concept of independent documentary-making through different approaches including its documentaries and hosting workshops to demonstrate the distinguishing characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary in the 1990s, namely engagement with social concerns.

In the context of Taiwanese independent documentary development and production, I argue that Full Shot Studio made independent documentaries to advocate on social issues and promote greater public social awareness in a dynamic Taiwan society. This practice was similar to how *Ren Jian* magazine used publication as a form of social practice as argued above. In addition, I suggest that the success of the 'Full Shot Studio documentary', or '*quanjing jilupian'* in Mandarin, led to the dawn of independent documentary making and its development as a compelling phenomenon in Taiwan after the mid-1990s.

Therefore, although Full Shot did not describe itself as an "independent" documentary organization, they are clearly one of the most important Taiwanese independent documentary production studios in the 1990s. Furthermore, Full Shot Studio's documentaries showed that independent documentary-making was ready and able to use conventional filmmaking techniques instead of merely documenting events or subjects without appropriate attention to the methods of filming.

The founder of Full Shot Studio Wu Yi-Feng used to work for a television production company as a director, and had directed one fictional film for a commercial contributor. After the failure of his fiction film distribution work, he recognized that the environment of commercial film and the television industry was not right for him. Therefore, he invited three friends, Li Zhong-Wang, Xu Fu-Jin and Chen Yia-Fang to establish Full Shot Studio in 1988. They set documentary-making as their primary purpose (Lee Daw-Ming 2000: 289-292). Notably, this team claimed themselves as 'the author (*zuozhe*)' instead of 'the director (*daoyan*)' in the credits, indicating that their emphasis on reporting life stories through the form of documentary in contrast to producing films with ideas that came from a director or screenplay writer.

According to my interview with Wu Yi-Feng (2011), when he first established Full Shot Studio in 1988, one year after the end of martial law in Taiwan, he was awake to dynamic social change. He thought of the possibility of making documentaries outside the television station system in order to reveal marginalized issues that the commercial TV industry ignored. Wu Yi-Feng acknowledged that with so many social issues surrounding him, he chose to avoid making directly political documentaries. He was concerned about the political circumstances at that time, but saw a greater need for coverage of marginalized issues. He could, of course, see that the Green Team and other related groups were already attempting to cover political issues. In addition, Wu Yi-Feng wanted to make documentaries from his own perspective instead of merely recording events or subjects; therefore, he wanted to make films that were more concerned with people, especially those in vulnerable situations. To obtain funding, Wu Yi-Feng decided to propose a television documentary series to the Public Television Unit (PTU), the former organization supported by the Government Information Office before the Public Television Service (PTS) was officially founded in 1998 (Television Year Book of the Republic of China 1998-1999:120). From the outset,

Wu said that he tried to adapt issues from *Ren Jian*, to develop the story of characters that were reported there, and to do more field research to probe the possibility of making documentaries within these themes. However, he realized that the coverage in *Ren Jian* magazine was not entirely suitable for transfer into documentary form directly in terms of the production aspects, so he decided to investigate more stories by himself. Eventually, the proposed television documentary series was named *Light on Life* (*Renjian Denghuo*) (1990). The key titles in the series included: *Liao Mei-Xi*, *Chen Tian-Shui*, *The Children of the Stars* (*Xingxing de Haizi*), *Lu Jin-De and Qiu Su-Lian, The Sun Seekers* (*Xunzhao Yangguang de Ren*), which were stories that were newly discovered by Full Shot Studio. *The Herders at Bitoujiao* (*Bitoujiao de Muyangren*), *Zhou Meng-De* and *Cheng Hui-Luan*, *Li Wen-Shu and Her Child* (*Li Wen-Shu he Ta de Haizi*), *The Pig Master A-Xiu* (*Zhu Shifu A-Xiu*) and *Fan Ze-Kai* were adapted from stories in *Ren Jian*. The topic of the series focused on ordinary characters that came from different corners of society, and told their life stories in the documentaries. Therefore,

> 'The process of making these documentaries could be seen as the process whereby Full Shot Studio tried to visualize the stories chosen from *Ren Jian* magazine---a crucial magazine revealing social issues in Taiwan. And I felt that Full Shot Studio inherited the spirit of caring for vulnerable people which comes from the magazine.' (Wu Yi-Feng 2011; my translation.)

Although Wu Yi-Feng graduated from a film department in a university, he recognized that he had no clear concept of documentary. He questioned his own understanding regarding the approach of proper documentary making at the time when Full Shot Studio was involved in the production of the television series. He said that the members of staff in Full Shot Studio gathered experience of documentary making by producing *Light on Life*, which was added to the experience that Wu had gained when he used to work for the television reportage series, *The Portrait of Hundred Occupations* (*Baigongtu*) (1986). However, Wu stressed that relying on his filmmaking training and professional experiences, he aimed to make documentaries that,

> ‘can tell the story from my own perspective, and use moving images to say things that can touch the audience. This is why I chose to switch my major [from economics] to filmmaking when I was an undergraduate student…hence, the production (of *Light on Life*) was to be something that would echo the circumstances of society at the time, and was linked to my motivation for filmmaking, showing my desire and my ability to use filmmaking as a way to ease difficult social situations.’ (Wu Yi-Feng 2011; my translation.)

Therefore, Full Shot Studio adopted long-term observation on location and participating in the life of their filmed subjects as their principle approach to documentary-making. And they paid attention to the post-production procedure of editing, in a way that independent documentary-making in the late 1980s had not. They also wanted to work efficiently and spread their work to a wide audience. Unintentionally, the strategy Wu used and the form of *Light on Life* series actually matched the concept of ‘participatory documentary’: adopted from anthropology, ‘the researcher goes into the field, participates in the lives of others, gains a corporeal or visceral feel for what life in a given context is like, and then reflects on this experience’ (Nichols 2001: 115) through the documentary film. These concepts were evident in the making of *Li Wen-Shu and Her Child* (1990), which was a documentary about a retired teacher and her child, who suffers from a rare illness. Wu Yi-Feng and his colleagues spent more than one year following the characters and documenting their authentic lives (Wu Yi-Feng 2011).

In the documentary, there is a sequence when Li Wen-Shu’s child dies from the disease, and she cries outside the operating theater. Wu pops into the scene and gives her a hug and then they cry together. This footage stands out in the documentaries of those times. In contrast to previous Taiwanese documentary, it displayed the participatory mode of documentary (Wang Wei-Ci 2007: 22).

In addition, in the interview, Wu Yi-Feng said that the first time he awoke to the concept of the documentary clearly was when he saw the Japanese documentary *The Emperor’s Naked Army Marches On* (1987) made by Kazuo Hara. Wu said that he was shocked by the form of this documentary, and woke up to the idea that the documentary could be composed of various approaches distinct from his previous reporting work through his television training background. He was inspired by Hara’s attitude to documentary, and he thought that he should

break through the barriers of his previous experiences and establish his own argument for documentary-making, which was long-term participation with the filmed subject. In particular, Wu Yi-Feng wanted to explore themes concerning the margins of society and vulnerable people. The mode of long-term participation was especially suitable for realizing such subjects, because they could investigate the issue in question in depth and then construct the documentaries elaborately afterwards.

Light on Life series was released in 1990 on television and attracted a significant audience. However, the series still faced the difficulty of censorship and continuing restrictions on television stations. At the time, after the end of martial law, the changing social circumstances loosened regulations, but the censorship of Chinese-language dialects continued. After the KMT government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the authorities started to promote Mandarin Chinese as the official language in Taiwan. The purpose was to eliminate Japanese colonial influence and stress the development of a new national ideology. The authorities enforced the language policy in the education system and media, and some dialects were strictly prohibited in educational institutions and on both radio and TV from the 1970s to the 1980s (Huang Jian-Ming 2009: 7-9). For instance, *The Pig Master A-Xu* was sent to the authorities to acquire a television-broadcasting permit, because the local Taiwanese dialect used in the documentary was heavily emphasized and went beyond the proportions set by the regulations mandating the use of the nation's official language, Mandarin Chinese. This requirement was one of the policies of the nationalistic ideology expressed since the 1970s, and resulted in the documentary nearly failing to pass censorship.

Furthermore, television programs were limited to 23 minutes maximum (Wang Wei-Ci 2007: 23), which also limited how much content could be shown in documentaries during a single episode. This time limitation forced Full Shot Studio to make *Moon Children* (1990) by alternative ways, and it went on to become an icon of that studio's social documentaries.

Moon Children is a representative Full Shot Studio documentary. It followed their typical production mode, and its mode of release represented a breakthrough amidst the barriers of television restrictions. The topic of the documentary was also adapted from stories reported in *Ren Jian* magazine. *Moon Children* is about several albino people, and how they faced misunderstandings

from society and dealt with their lives, including marriage, professions and careers. Originally, the story was one of the episodes in the series *Light on Life.* However, Wu Yi-Feng decided to make this documentary separately to engage with the issues more deeply, resulting in his spending one and a half years following the characters and making the documentary. The television station refused to broadcast *Moon Children* because, at 63 minutes, it was too long to comply with their time limits. Therefore, Wu decided to host a tour of independent screenings. *Moon Children* was premiered in 1990 at the Taipei Film Archives, and gained positive acclaim from the audience in screenings around Taiwan soon afterwards. Actually, for most of the audience, *Moon Children* not only brought them a moving life story related to albinos, but also opened up a new vision of what the documentary film could be. Ray Jiing (Jing Ying-Rui), the director of the Taipei Film Archives at the time, said in the forum after *Moon Children*'s premiere that, through this documentary, the stereotype of the documentary as a boring and mechanical form had vanished; the spontaneous scenes and location-based recording along with the non-standard pronunciation of Mandarin Chinese in the commentary from the director (Wu Yi-Feng) had created a new image for the documentary (Xie Qian 1991: 50).

To understand this assertion, it is important to reiterate that the type of documentary that Ray Jiing was alluding to was the propaganda-form made by government film institutions. In these propaganda documentaries, the commentator speaks an unnaturally perfect Mandarin Chinese and the content is carefully narrated by the scriptwriter in advance. On the contrary, the content of *Moon Children* revealed a story about ordinary people, especially focusing on the margins of society, and gave documentary-making a groundbreaking, different perspective in Taiwan in those times (Xie Qian 1991:50).

Notably, after gaining its reputation with the screening tour, *Moon Children* was finally accepted by Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV) in 1994 and broadcast (Wu Yi-Feng 2011).

In terms of budget, Full Shot Studio revealed a different the mode of production for independent documentary-making compared with the prior period of the late 1980s. Instead of using their own money or the budget from video sales, as the Green Team had done, Full Shot Studio engaged in commercial video production and cooperated with public sector partners such as the Public Television

Unit (PTU) and the Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA) to fund their independent productions.

As an independent production group, Full Shot Studio had found a solution to the problem of the cost of making documentaries outside the system. Wu Yi-Feng said that when they started to make *Light on Life* series in 1989, the budget from the PTU was $170,000 NTD ($ 4,857 USD) per episode. But, at this time, there were nine members in the studio, and their emphasis on long-term observation and participation led them to face severe financial difficulty. Therefore, they divided into two groups in the studio: one for making documentaries, and another working on other commercial projects to earn profits to fund the documentary productions. This funding method became the main way for Full Shot Studio to manage their budget, and they also applied for funding support from non-profit organizations or the government for specific documentary projects as extra funding supplements. For instance, these included documentary workshops in 1995 to 1998, and the Nantou earthquake documentary series in 1999 (Wu Yi-Feng 2011).

After the *Light on Life* series and *Moon Children* were made, Full Shot Studio's documentary style was established, and their commitment to social issues was clear to the public. In 1992, Full Shot Studio continued to make a second television series, *Impressions of Life* (1992) (*Shenghuo Yingxiang*). They also started to host documentary workshops from 1991 in order to promote their concept of documentary-making. Their achievements grabbed the attention of the Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA, renamed as the Ministry of Culture in 2012). CCA acknowledged that documentary-making could be part of their notion of Community Development Projects (*Shequ Zongti Yingzao*), which I will detail in section 6.3. After 1995, the CCA started to support Full Shot Studio's documentary workshops. Afterward, the Full Shot Studio documentary (*quanjing jilupian*) became an acknowledged form of Taiwanese independent documentary.

As well as its documentary-making, Full Shot Studio established a radio station in 1994. The programme content strengthened their concept of documentary-making, with a focus on the margins of society. The radio station was seen as one of the elements that formed the Full Shot Studio concept (Chen Liang-Feng 1998: 156). It promoted Full Shot Studio's documentary screenings and stories. Overall, Full Shot Studio launched an alternative route for independent

documentary production in Taiwan following the decline of active political movements in the early 1990s.

6.2.2 Firefly Studio

Firefly Studio (*Yinghouchong Yingxiangti*) was another type of independent documentary group focused on social concerns. What made them distinctive was the geographical area covered. In the following section, based on my interview with Dong Zhen-Liang, the founder of Firefly Studio, and the library of his independent documentaries (mostly not officially released into the commercial market), I will analyze the characteristics of Firefly Studio's production mode and their motivation for making documentaries. Their work served to strengthen the new distinguishing characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s to mid-1990s. As I will examine in this section, most of the documentaries and films they made were related to the issue of Kinmen (Jinmen) County. Firefly Studio appeared in the late 1980s. Dong Zhen-Liang was born in Kinmen County, a relatively rural and isolated island situated off the mainland of Taiwan. In addition, due to Kinmen's sensitive nature as a significant military frontline between Taiwan and Mainland China, there were numerous controversial issues. For instance, Kinmen was still subject to military regulation even after the end of martial law (Kinmen County Document 2009: 10). Dong Zhen-Liang depicted the issues by making independent documentaries, proclaiming his identity as someone from Kinmen and appealing to the authorities concerning a perceived lack of justice faced by Kinmen residents at the time. Dong Zhen-Liang also engaged with political issues. For instance, he made a documentary related to an election in Kinmen called *The Dilemma of Returning Home* (1989). However, the majority of his independent documentary works and feature films remaining focused on social issues in Kinmen. As I will analyze later, most of his documentaries depict circumstances where the social welfare of residents in Kinmen was ignored by the authorities, with military issues being the main priority. In addition, his documentaries did not engage in political appeals against the authorities, but called instead for the same equal rights enjoyed by residents in mainland Taiwan. Therefore, in terms of the

mode and the motivation for documentary-making, Dong Zhen-Liang's independent documentaries clearly concerned themselves with the issues of the margins of society that were a feature of both the geography and social realities of Kinmen.

In marked contrast to the prior generation of independent documentarians, the key founder of Firefly Studio, Dong Zhen-Liang, was professionally trained and had worked for a period in a commercial studio. The independent documentaries produced by Firefly Studio not only documented the social issues that they wanted to evoke, but also awakened new possibilities for the form of documentary. Kinmen (Jinmen) Island belonged to the Taiwan government. Geographically speaking, Kinmen is closer to mainland China than to Taiwan. The closest distance between Kinmen and Xiamen, a city in southern China, is approximately 3 miles, compared to 116 miles from Budai, a harbour in south Taiwan. Because of the tensions between Taiwan and China, Kinmen was seen as a frontline potential war zone. It saw numerous military skirmishes after the KMT military retreated to Taiwan in 1949. After the Chinese Communists established their official relationship with the USA in 1979, the military skirmishes over Kinmen between Taiwan and China ended, but tension remained. The Taiwan government established special military regulations covering Kinmen. For instance, the infrastructure considered necessary for the military was not available for public use; there was no civil aviation or boat public transport between Kinmen and Taiwan due to security reasons; and people needed permits to travel between Kinmen and mainland Taiwan. In addition, the governor of Kinmen County was appointed by the military, even though local elections had been introduced in mainland Taiwan after the Japanese colonial period, and there was a growing sense of democracy after the end of martial law in 1987. The regulation was named The Battle Zone Policy (*Zhandi Zhengwu*) in 1956 and continued in force until 1992 (Kinmen County Document 2009: 30-5). Before that time, civil rights were effectively ignored on Kinmen.

According to my interviews with Dong Zhen-Liang (2010), he said that when he was did his compulsory military service, he saw numerous films including those from the period of the Taiwan New Cinema. The latter was a movement of Taiwan's filmmakers between the 1980s and 1990s that broke away from the conventional concept of Taiwanese commercial film (Peggy Hsiung-Ping Chiao 1990). These films inspired him to look for a job in a production studio, so he

attended film and television occupational training courses hosted by a broadcast organization, to develop his film production career. Dong's account and his video *Since Before to Nowadays* (*Cong Yiqian dao Xianzai*) (1986) reveal that he intended to explore the form of filmmaking in general and documentary-making in particular with a strong sense of filmic narrative, with the aim of engagement with social issues.

Since Before to Nowadays was Dong's first film. He filmed it on his own VHS camcorder, and edited it with two VHS video-players (using the record function). The film depicted the unreasonable transport regulations between Kinmen and mainland Taiwan. His father was ill and needed to see a hospital doctor in mainland Taiwan. His father had to fly to the mainland alone and be met by Dong in Taipei. To visit his father in hospital, Dong Zhen-Liang's brother came to mainland Taiwan later by boat. After their father recovered, the brothers planned to accompany him back to Kinmen. However, according to the regulations, passengers between Kinmen and mainland Taiwan could only make a journey by the same transport mode round-trip, meaning that father and sons could not all go back by boat together. Dong Zhen-Liang decided to make *Since Before to Nowadays* to express his anger and also to practice his interest in filmmaking interest (Dong Zhen-Liang 2010). *Since Before to Nowadays* is a short feature containing elements of documentary. To gather more dramatic footage, Dong filmed the true scenario of thousands of Kinmen people who longed to return home, waiting in Kaohsiung Harbour, the main harbour for transport to Kinmen, before the most important family gathering day of the Lunar New Year. The film was never officially screened or released to the public, but it shows how Dong Zhen-Liang conceived the making of films, including documentaries as a vehicle to express social concerns, along with developing his filmmaking skills.

Firefly Studio's later films *The Dilemma of Returning Home* (*Fanxiang de Ganga,* 1989) and *Counterattack* (*Fangong de Lishi*, 1993) not only embodied Dong Zhen-Liang's idea of independent documentary, but also further strengthened Taiwanese independent documentary at the time. In 1989, Dong Zhen-Liang decided to establish Firefly Studio, originally to fulfill his dream of making feature films. The studio's first work was the documentary *The Dilemma of Returning Home*. It concerned Weng Ming-Zhi, who was the first Democracy Progressive Party (DPP) candidate to stand for election in Kinmen. The documentary was

directed and narrated by Dong Zhen-Liang. Because of the regulations, they could not use video-camcorders to film the campaign in Kinmen. Therefore, they shot numerous still photos in Kinmen, with sound recording on location, and used video recordings of the campaign in Taipei as visual footage for the documentary (Dong Zhen-Liang 2011).

In addition to the footage shot on location, Dong Zhen-Liang appeared in the film as an actor to represent the residents of Kinmen, and argued from his perspective to express his dissatisfaction with the regulations. The documentary was aimed to encourage people to get involved in politics, as the narration written and voiced by Dong expressed a point of view that was strongly against the social control and manipulation of the election by the authorities. However, I suggest the form of this documentary was distinct from pure political movement documentaries, as the content also showed the helplessness of Kinmen residents and their dissatisfaction concerning social welfare issues. In addition, unlike the Green Team video documentaries that were also made for political purposes, Dong Zheng-Liang incorporated the concept of 'film as art' within the documentary, and adopted the form of a fiction film in order to further enrich his creation. For instance, the soundtrack that involved ambulance sirens and campaign still photos made the montage convey a sense of monopolized political control. However, this alternative approach to generate public concern was clearly unlikely to be accepted by mainstream television stations. After finishing *The Dilemma of Returning Home*, Firefly Studio programmed a screening with other young filmmakers who had studied filmmaking overseas and made films independently in Taipei. Dong Zhen-Liang said that the film screening aimed to offer an alternative approach to erase the ignorance of marginalized social issues by the mainstream media at the time (Dong Zhen-Liang 2011).

In 1992, Dong Zhen-Liang returned to Kinmen together with his partner in Firefly Studio, Zhou Mei-Ling, later known as Zero Chou, who has become a feature film director in her own right. They worked for the first non-government-affiliated newspaper *JinMa Daily* as reporters. They set out to make a documentary *Counterattack* (*Fangong de Lishi*, 1993) in Super VHS, borrowing the camcorder from a friend who worked in the Taipei Film Archives. *Counterattack* was the first non-government video production permitted to film on location on Kinmen using a video-camcorder. Dong Zhen-Liang said,

> ‘I consider *The Dilemma of Returning Home* was the first conversation between restricted Kinmen and mainland Taiwan using images of the island and its people…, in *Counterattack*, I aimed to speak out for Kinmen people and embody the power of the people. I wanted the public to understand and care about the issues faced in Kinmen, and to understand that Kinmen was being subjected to totalitarian rule -- the history of Kinmen was written and controlled by the military, and the governor of Kinmen County was a military general as well. Therefore, I aimed to reveal the perspective of the real people of Kinmen in this documentary.’ (Dong Zhen-Liang 2010; my translation)

After *Counterattack* was finished, Dong Zhen-Liang sent the documentary to Taipei, and broadcast it on cable television channels, a popular alternative broadcasting approach used by the Green Team and other political independent documentary groups in the late 1980s before the end of martial law (see chapter 5) (Dong Zhen-Liang 2011).

Turning to Firefly Studio’s funding, this showed its particular position as an independent documentary production group for highlighting social issues in Kinmen. Dong Zhen-Liang said that to make films and documentaries related to Kinmen, he mostly relied on public donations on the island itself and among Kinmen’s native people who lived on mainland Taiwan. At that moment, Firefly Studio did not receive any budget from any specific regular organization, or governmental organizations. Dong was able to use his extensive social network to gather funds to support his work and the associated costs of producing it (Dong Zhen-Liang 2011).

In his work at Firefly Studios, Dong Zhen-Liang wanted initially to make documentaries independently and work as a filmmaker who cared about social issues. And in the interview, he did not consider The Firefly Studio to be a totally independent documentary group like Full Shot Studio; in fact, some of the films made by Firefly Studio related to Kinmen were categorized as feature films. For instance, *Every Odd Numbered Day* (*Dan Da Shuang bu Da*) (1994) mixed elements of documentary realism and the feature film. However, Dong acknowledged that, the more he got involved in independent documentary and feature film production, and engaged with the social issues regarding Kinmen, the more he discovered that video-documentary could be a powerful instrument for

raising social concern about Kinmen. Along with Full Shot Studio, Firefly Studio presents the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s to 1990s as another vital independent documentary group. Right up until the date of the interview, Dong Zhen-Liang had kept making independent documentary and low-budget film productions to speak up for and highlight civil rights in Kinmen.

6.2.3 Individual Documentarians

In this section, based on my field research, independent documentary collections and interviews, I examine individual independent documentarians Lin Zheng-Sheng and Ke Shu-Qing (joint director), Luo Xing-Jie and Li Meng-Zhe (joint director), and their works, which were made in the early 1990s, to further explore the characteristics of the Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s to mid-1990s that I have identified.

Apart from the independent documentary groups, there were also some individuals making independent documentaries. These documentaries were also distinct from the political movement participation documentaries as they engaged with different issues in terms of social concerns and practices in late 1980s to mid-1990s Taiwan. These filmmakers also tended to have filmmaking training, and they set out to make documentaries with a sense of its form and how it would make it look. Their production mode was similar to that of the groups like the Full Shot Studio and the Firefly Studio. However, individual documentarians made few documentaries and did not rely on the form to make a living. Many had other professions and made documentaries as an extension of their concern about social issues. Their main approach was to release their independent documentaries through film competitions. The emergence of individual independent documentarians and competitions for independent documentary production combined with innovation and the popularity of digitalized filmmaking facilities to launch a movement of Taiwanese independent documentary production between the mid-1990s to early 2000s, which I will examine in detail in the next chapter. From my point of view, the individual documentarians that emerged in the late 1980s to mid-1990s not only strengthened the characteristics of Taiwanese

independent documentary during that period, but also intensified the new possibilities of Taiwanese independent documentary; likewise, through their works and mode of production they can help to reveal the emergent characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary for the subsequent period.

Lin Zheng-Sheng and Ke Shu-Qing

Lin Zheng-Sheng and Ke Shu-Qing were a couple dedicated to making independent documentary in the early 1990s. Their documentaries *Laozhou, Laowang, Ahai and His Four Workers* (*Laozou, Laowang, Ahai he Ta de Sige Gongren*, 1990) and *Meili Is Singing* (*Meili zai Changge*, 1991) revealed the margins of society then ignored by the mainstream media, thus representing the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary at the time. According to my interview with Ke Shu-Qing (2010), she said that she and Lin Zheng-Sheng met each other in a professional training course for people who wanted to get a position in film or television and hosted by a broadcasting organization in 1984. Before their film careers, Lin was a baker and Ke was a freelance writer. They got married in 1986, and then they started to look for job opportunities in a film-related field. Before they got jobs in the industry, they decided to go to Lishan (Pear Mountain), a mountainous area where the climate was suitable for planting high-priced temperate zone fruit (such as apples, pears, and peaches) in central Taiwan; a place where planting an orchard yields enough to earn a living. Because they had just ended the film production training courses and were passionate about making films, they bought an electronic Super-VHS camera and aimed to bring it to the orchard to document their life as fruit farmers. Ke Shu-Qing knew that their knowledge of the concept of documentary was somewhat basic as they had no formal training about documentary making when they were on their training course. They started to film enthusiastically after they had learned rudimentary production skills. Furthermore, the new agricultural way of life was interesting enough to them to document via video camcorder. Interestingly, in the beginning, they were not initially aware that this procedure could also be considered a form of documentary-making (Ke Shu-Qing 2010).

In the meantime, they found that some of their neighbour fruit farmers in Lishan were interested in filming; thus, they turned them into the characters that were shown in *Lao-Zhou, Lao-Wang, A-hai and His Four Workers*. Ke mentioned that they realized their Lishan footage could be considered a documentary when they saw in the *China Times* details of a Non-Commercial Film Awards (*Zhongshi Feishangye Yingzhan*) in Taipei. This award had been established in 1988, supported by the *China Times* and its initial name was *China Evening Times* Film Awards. It broke the monopoly of the government-backed Golden Horse Awards. From 1989, in order to encourage non-commercial film production, the award changed its name to the *China Times* Non-Commercial Film Awards, and it contained documentary as a competition category (Chen Pin-Chuan 2010: 210-1). Lin and Ke started to organize their shooting as a film-making procedure. Thus, they shot fifty videotapes (of 2 hours' duration each) and then used the S-VHS camcorder as the player, and another S-VHS player (with record function) as the recorder for editing. Eventually, the documentary was finished and was good enough to win an award in 1990 (Ke Shu-Qing 2010).

Although Ke Shu-Qing claimed that, at that moment, they did not clearly understand documentary-making, they did reveal their sense of social concern by making *Laozhou, Laowang, Ahai and His Four Workers*. In terms of the form of the documentary, it relied on interviews to explore the issues and the characters that they filmed, combining the observational and participatory modes of documentary. Ke and Lin took a long time to film this documentary on location and participated fully in the lives on a daily basis with the filmed characters.

There was no commentary and no music score in *Lao-Zhou, Lao-Wang, A-hai and His Four Workers*. Lin and Ke explored the issues that they were concerned with more than the life stories of the filmed characters, and characters represented the specific issues behind them. In the documentary, Lao-Zhou and Lao-Wang were representative of veterans that retired from the Kuomintong (KMT) military, and who retreated from mainland China with the KMT government in 1949. After they retired from the military, they were given a pension by the authority, which included an allocation of land. However, this land was located in a mountainous area that was considered less valuable for conventional agriculture in Taiwan, which focused on crops such as rice and tropical fruit. Consequently, the veterans became who pioneered temperate zone fruit planting in

Taiwan. Temperate zone fruit was highly prized in the market, which led to the rapid and extensive growth of mountain agriculture. Soon, even non-pensioners rented the land and planted orchards.

However, mountain agriculture development led to environmental issues such as fertilizer pollution. In addition, over-intensity of temperate zone fruit planting led to competition between fruit farmers, which drove prices and affected the living standards of the veterans. On the other hand, another character in the documentary was A-Hai, who was a young fruit farmer who rented the land and hired four experienced workers to plant his orchard. He faced different issues distinct from those faced by the veterans: how to manage his business and achieve his life goal, and also struggles with the problematic agricultural techniques and challenging environment. A-Hai was portrayed as a representative newcomer who came to Lishan to earn a living as a fruit farmer (just like Lin Zheng-Sheng and Ke Shu-Qing themselves). Overall, the documentary highlighted the agricultural issues of Taiwan in the early 1990s among these fruit farmers in Lishan.

Although *Lao-Zhou, Lao-Wang, A-Hai and His Four Workers* won a *China Times* Non-Commercial Film Award in 1990, Ke Shu-Qing claimed that they still did not understand documentary production accurately. The *China Times* competition only distinguished between fiction and non-fiction, but Ke said that the jury comment by documentary scholar Lee Daw-Ming indicated to them that they were indeed making a documentary. In addition, they started to get to know other independent documentarians, and then exchanged information about their documentaries which also helped them to start thinking about themselves as documentary makers (Ke Shu-Qing 2010).

Ke Shu-Qing acknowledged that they finally understood the concept of documentary making when they made their second film, *Meili Is Singing*, which won an award in the *China Times* competition in 1991. The film is about their neighbour, a girl named Meili, in Taipei. After a year, the orchard business in Lishan failed. Ke Shu-Qing and Lin Zheng-Sheng moved back to Taipei to re-start their film career, supported by a grant of NT$300,000 (approximately US$7,500) from the prize for *Lao-Zhou, Lao-Wwang, A-Hai and His Four Workers* and from Ke's scriptwriting awards. His script, 'The Hot Air Balloon in the Mountains (*Gaoshan shang de Reqiqiu*)' (1990) won an award in the Government Information Office's screenplay competition of NT$100,000 (approx. US$2,500). Soon

thereafter, they started to film Meili for their second documentary (Ke Shu-Qing 2010).

Meili Is Singing reveal the life story of an ordinary person and it was relatively less concerned with social issues. Furthermore, in terms of the form of the film, *Meili Is Singing* was indeed a documentary, but was more like an art documentary, displaying the professional training of the filmmakers.

Ke Shu-Qing and Lin Zheng-Sheng made one more independent documentary together: *A-Feng and A-Yen's Peacock Land* (*A-Feng he A-Yen de Kongque Di*, 1994). Afterward, Lin Zheng-Sheng became a fiction film director in 1996, and made independent documentaries occasionally. Ke Shu-Qing returned to her previous career as a freelance writer.

Luo Xing-Jie & Li Meng-Zhe

In this section, based on the documentary *Professor-Boss Zhu's Homework for Summer Vacation* (*Zhu Jiaoshou Laoban de Shujia Zuoye*, 1992) and my interview with Li Meng-Zhe, I will examine Li and Luo Xing-Jie's approach to making independent documentary and show how it relates to the essential characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s to mid-1990s. Although they were not the first who explored labour issues through documentary-making, I argue that they were the first that to engage with the labour movement through independent documentary-making in Taiwan. They did so out of a sense of social concern, but also adopted the production mode of observational documentary as defined by Bill Nichols (2001). In addition, due to Li Meng-Zhe's professional filmmaking background, they were the first who made independent labour movement with professional filmmaking techniques different from the news gathering style of Green Team independent documentary, marking their work out as the beginning of a new phase of Taiwanese independent documentary.

According to the interview with Li Meng-Zhe (2010), Luo Xing-Jie was an independent filmmaker who started his career in the late 1980s. He documented the party political movement and street protests using a camcorder and from an alternative point of view, on the side of the opposition. He then sold the footage to

'the fourth channel (*disitai*)' cable television as an information supplier, but he did not make independent documentary videos using the footage. The demand for political movement footage created a huge workload. Therefore, Luo invited Li, who had just finished his military service and possessed a mass communication training background from university, to join him in 1991. Among the street protests and party political movements, Luo Xing-Jie and Li Meng-Zhe recognized the significance of the marginalized issue of the Jialong female workers' protest, and decided to document the event. However, it was difficult for them to document wider political events and the protest at Jialong Textile Factory every day. Therefore, they divided their work and Li Meng-Zhe documented the Jialong event at the location directly. Li said that he got paid by Luo Xing-Jie monthly, and Luo provided the necessary equipment for filming. For example, a Hi-8 camera was given to Li. The original footage was Hi-8, and Luo Xing-Jie converted it into S-VHS format for further usage. (Li Meng-Zhe 2010).

Professor-Boss Zhu's Homework for Summer Vacation was about the female workers at the Jialong Textile Factory who joined together to protest against their bosses. It was a key labour documentary of the time. Although the production mode was not unlike that of the Green Team, the filmmakers' concerns and direction were different. Labour-intensive industries like the Jialong Textile Factory were facing pressure to cut operating costs. One option was was to move to a new open labour market such as China to reduce wage costs. Many of Taiwan's factories moved to China and closed their Taiwanese facilities abruptly without proper care for their employees. This led to much tension between employers and employees. During this time of dynamic change in Taiwan's post-martial law situation, activists were bustling on the streets in various protests. Furthermore, the female workers at the Jialong Textile Factory were assisted by labour rights organizations and joined together to take industrial action for the first time, occupying the factory to defend their rights. Luo Xing-Jie and Li Meng-Zhe started to observe and document the protest in 1991.

Li Meng-Zhe's approach to making *Professor-Boss Zhu's Homework for Summer Vacation* indicates that he used documentary-making to highlight social issues more than getting involved directly in politics. According to Li's account, although the topic of the documentary can refer to the directly political dimension, however, he himself did not aim to pursuit the political intention. He said that at the

beginning they did not expect the Jialong footage to develop into a documentary film; he was just concerned about the event and wanted to see what was going to happen and record it with the camera. Li's academic and professional background made him interested in documentary. He had just finished a short documentary film as part of his university student work. In addition, Li did not aim to break through the barrier of state media control by documenting the Jialong event, or even to pioneer an alternative approach to mainstream television news, as the independent video documentaries of the late 1980s before the end of martial law had done (Li Meng-Zhe 2010).

After three months' filming with seventy-four videotapes (of two hours duration each), Li decided to edit the footage. This became the documentary *Professor-Boss Zhu's Homework for Summer Vacation.* Exhibited at the *China Times* Non-Commercial Film Awards, it won the top award in 1992 of NT$ 300,000 (approximately US$7,500) (Li Meng-Zhe 2010).

In the interview, Li and Luo recall that they used to make political video documentaries for party political purposes. Their new footage, however, was not like those videos that. Li said that he did not release the documentary via 'the fourth channel', because he thought that *Professor-Boss Zhu's Homework for Summer Vacation* was not a political issue film. He claims that with his independent documentary, he was not taking any political stance or intending to get involved in any political movement. He defined documentary-making as more of a social practice for him (Li Meng-Zhe 2010).

Although Li Meng-Zhe claimed that when he was filming the Jialong event, he did not think about making a complete documentary afterwards, it was clear from his way of working that he used the documentary approach to observe and document the Jialong event with the video-camcorder on location over the long term. He understood professional documentary-making. For instance, when some incident happened and he was not on location, he did an interview for the workers to describe what had happened to them. In addition, in some closed-door meetings between employers and employees that Li was not permitted to attend, he taught workers how to operate a small Video 8 camcorder to document the meeting secretly. Furthermore, Li kept filming some workers after the industrial action ended, in order to gather more footage and interviews. The purpose of this was

clearly to gather complete footage related to the event, which led to all the relevant footage being used in the documentary afterwards.

In terms of the form of documentary, I argue that *Professor-Boss Zhu's Homework for Summer Vacation* is a documentary demonstrating a similar approach to Direct Cinema, documenting the subjects using a fly-on-the-wall perspective. Therefore, it can be seen primarily as an observational labour documentary. In most of the scenes the documentarian did not give much of his own perspective. Rather, he simply recorded at the location. There were few interviews, no commentary from the filmmaker, and no score. Li edited the footage chronologically, in order to show the progress of the industrial action. In the interview, Li said that, initially he filmed the event because he wanted to follow the progress and development of the situation and discover what would happen rather than make a documentary. Indeed, the form of the documentary confirms his claim.

After the completion of this documentary, Luo Xing-Jie shifted his original interest to labour issues and continued to make independent documentaries about this topic. Li Meng-Zhe continued to make documentaries concerned with social issues as well. Notably, *Qingsong and Xiaoxia's Wedding Square* (*Qingsong he Xiaoxia de Jiehun Guangchang*) (1994) made by Li Meng-Zhe, told of a young couple who lived in Taipei and faced economic difficulties in the realities of life after marriage. Luo Xing-Jie and Li Meng-Zhe remain dedicated to film and independent documentary production work on subjects that inspire them.

6.3 Independent Documentary and the Community Development Project

In this section, I will examine the relationship between independent documentary-making and the government Community Development Project scheme (*Shequ Zongti Yyingzao*) launched in the early 1990s, and how the independent documentary group Full Shot Studio played a fundamental role in the situation. I argue that this was an essential element that led Taiwanese independent documentary to thrive and become the dominant mode of documentary production in Taiwan later on. In addition, Chen Liang-Feng (1998) argues that Full Shot Studio promoted the concept of 'popular documentary (*minzhong jilupian*)' through their workshops (see Chapter 2). In terms of the production mode, I argue that the concept of 'popular documentary' remains central to independent documentary in Taiwan in this period.

As I will demonstrate in this section, the development of Taiwanese independent documentaries in the middle of the 1990s was influenced by the Community Development Project, which was proposed by the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA). The government started to support independent documentary production to engage community consciousness. To achieve the aims of the project, the CCA supported Full Shot Studio's documentary-making workshops around Taiwan, teaching local people how to make video documentaries

6.3.1 The Community Development Project

In this section, I will examine the background of the Community Development Project (CDP). The Taiwanese government launched the policy through the CCA (since 2012, part of the Ministry of Culture) in 1994. Former Taiwanese president Lee Teng-Hui[15] claimed that a growth in the sense of Taiwanese identity was a vital step towards establishing the concept of Taiwan as a nation instead of the idea that it was 'Chinese'. Such an outlook would help to distinguish nationality between China and Taiwan and embody Taiwanese self-identity. Therefore, the CDP was a kind of a nationalist strategy (Huang Li-Ling 1995: 21-2). Chen Qi-Nan, former deputy minister of the CCA who proposed the project in 1994 confirmed that the government started to reform cultural affairs as a kind of self-identity symbol, announcing that local and especially non-urban culture was more authentically Taiwanese, and could help to create a strong awareness of Taiwanese identity. In addition, community development was seen as a practical procedure for promoting democracy by developing the concept of democracy from the grassroots. For instance, the local communities in agriculture-based towns, villages or indigenous tribal regions reformed their 'cultural characteristics' from being a local traditional industry or the specific customs of a particular people who lived in a certain location into part of a redefined, wider rethinking of culture as the 'community consciousness (*shequ yishi*)' (Chen Qi-Nan 1997: A11).

The CDP policy embodied Taiwanese nativism. Since the cessation of martial law, the issue of Taiwanese nativism was no longer taboo in public and gradually became a mainstream issue the. Chen Qi-Nan (1997) indicated the government prioritized community development instead of recovering traditional 'Chinese' culture. This latter refers to 'authentic' Chinese culture adopted from mainland China when the Kuomintang (KMT) government aimed to create Taiwan as the base for the recovery of mainland China from the 1940s to the1960s. The concept of nativist 'Taiwanese' culture became a new grand narrative in Taiwan.

[15] Lee Teng-Hui (1923-) was the eighth president of the Republic of China (Taiwan) and chairman of the Kuomintang (KMT) for twelve years from 1988 to 2000. In 1995, he made a widely acclaimed trip to the United States, the first Taiwan president to do so. The visit both angered and alienated leaders in China, who saw Lee at this point as supporting Taiwan's independence. In 1996, Lee was elected president for a second term in the nation's first direct presidential election, winning over 54 percent of the vote in a four-way race (Cooper 2007: 160-1).

Various dimensions of local culture were used to assert and then promote Taiwanese identity in both a political and cultural sense. Chen Qi-Nan claims that using the CDP as the key concept gave 'the Taiwanese nativist movement new motivation and perspectives, to connect the ideals of the past and future…' (Chen Qi-Nan 1997: A11; my translation). The CDP marked a transition from a sectarian Taiwanese nativism (versus Chinese tradition) to a new space for establishing a democratic model with a concept of power that is relevant across different local communities, and which reveals and then celebrates the culture of Taiwanese identity (Liao Jun-Song 1997: 4-5).

Furthermore, the concept behind the CDP was an extension and conversion of the social and political movements that had existed since the 1980s. Chen Qi-Nan (1997) argues that there were four stages in the formation of a sense of community development. The first was the social movements in the 1980s, involving environmental issues that sparked community consciousness in Taiwanese society. Second, community organizations sprang up everywhere to survey and promote local culture and history. For example, there were organizations dedicated to making public policy proposals related to local community development, plus individuals who wrote 'local history (*difangzhi*)' as amateur local historians. The sense of community evolving into a mature concept, no matter whether in urban or rural areas, was the third stage in the early 1990s. At this stage, community organizations were involved with social issues, and influenced local government. For instance, members of local communities started to engage with the infrastructure policy by organizing local gatherings (Chen Qi-Nan 1997:A11). In the fourth stage, the central government launched The CDP in 1994; more local historical and cultural organizations were encouraged by the policy and set themselves up. As I will demonstrate in the next section, the participants at Full Shot Studio documentary workshops and the documentaries that were made elsewhere but in a similar way embodied the notion of the CDP.

6.3.2 Independent Documentary and the Community

In this section, based on existing documents and the documentaries themselves, I will analyse the documentary-making workshops hosted by Full Shot Studio to explain how they were linked to the CDP, and how Full Shot Studio strengthened their mode of independent documentary-making and captured notions of social concern in their workshops. In addition, the workshops led Taiwanese independent documentary to thrive after the mid-1990s. Furthermore, in terms of production mode, I argue that the documentary-making of Full Shot Studio's workshops qualifies as independent documentary and not just as "popular documentary" (Chen Liang-Feng 1998).

According to Chen, who was a member of Full Shot Studio, the CCA proposed the workshops to Full Shot Studio in 1995. Full Shot Studio had started the documentary workshops themselves in 1991 for university students who wanted to learn documentary production. They named the project the Sweet Potato Scheme (*Fanshu Jihua*), because the shape of Taiwan Island was often likened to a sweet potato. The name indicates that they wanted to train the students to make documentaries from a local perspective in contrast to the urban middle class, and to use the long-term observational mode. Moreover, the topics that Full Shot Studio wanted to focus on were marginalized issues and people (Chen Liang-Feng 1998: 52).

After the first year of the Sweet Potato Scheme in 1991, Full Shot Studio continued to host documentary workshops to train the people who came from the community. Their achievements led to them being noticed by CCA. The concept of the localized (*zaidi*) was essential to the CDP, and Full Shot's documentary production mode and their workshops matched the CCA's purposes exactly. CCA aimed to support documentary-making workshops that would engage the development of community consciousness. The initial aim of the CCA was to support training locals how to operate video-making facilities as a tool for narrating history and nativism from local perspectives, because to document local culture was one of the CCA's key policies (ibid., 54-5).

In 1995, Full Shot Studio proposed their workshop scheme to the CCA. Amateur local culture and history workers (*zaidi wenshi gongzuozhe*) were invited to attend 'The Documentary Photography Training Scheme for Local Workers'

(ibid., 55). In my interview with Wu Yi-Feng, the founder of Full Shot Studio and also the conductor of documentary workshops, he said,

> 'The CCA wanted to train (local) participants to document local culture and history with video-making facilities, but we meant to teach them how to make a complete documentary independently. The CCA made no comments and did not interfere in the documentary workshops we proposed. Instead, they offered sufficient support to help the filmmakers.' (Wu Yi-Feng: 2011; my translation)

The workshops led to independent documentary-making getting noticed as a popular way of engaging with community development. As I will demonstrate, the workshop set out three core elements that aimed to construct the notion of 'popular documentary': (i) go to the locals (*xia xiang* or *zai di*), (ii) offer equipment and editing facilities, and (iii) make the filming time no shorter than five months so as to conform to the observational mode of documentary-making. These three elements not only fulfilled the aim of community projects, but also, I suggest, meant the workshops successfully seeded independent documentary-making in Taiwan.

The attitude of 'go to the locals', or bringing the resources into the local and marginalized regions instead of the urban zone, was the main achievement of the workshops. In addition, through Full Shot Studio's practice, independent documentary-making gradually became a noticeable phenomenon across all Taiwan.

The plan was to divide Taiwan into four sections (north, east, middle and south) and host the workshop in each section. In 1995, the workshop staff planned and implemented the first trial workshop in north Taiwan. North Taiwan was more urbanized, making it easy to gather enough participants interested in learning new skills for local culture and history investigation. However, because of the eastern area's lack of relevant resources, the staff decided that if the CCA was willing to support the project's continuation, they would prioritize hosting a workshop in eastern Taiwan next (Chen Liang-Feng 1998: 53).

Another core concept for the workshops was offering equipment to participants, including electronic camcorders and editing suites. When Full Shot Studio was hosting its workshops, current video-making technology was electronic,

and excluded VHS. Various formats of household electronic camcorders were appearing such as the V8 and Hi8. The workshops used super-VHS system as training instrument, and set up a temporary studio open to participant while the course was taking place in their location (ibid., 56).

The last core concept for the workshop was that they should last no less than five months. The longer staff stayed in the same location, they more possible it was to create a close working relationship with the participants. This was needed to teach skills fully (ibid.). This immersive approach was also key to Full Shot Studio's own documentaries and was also part of their mode of production. Wu Yi-Feng spearheaded these key concepts throughout the workshops (Wu Yi-Feng 2011).

The themes of participants' documentaries also reveal that the workshops duplicated the approach of a Full Shot Studio documentary with a focus on marginalized issues and people. I suggest that, in terms of the production mode, these participants' documentaries were independent as well. Furthermore, the approach and influence of the documentary-making workshops entrenched the distinguishing characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in this period.

The courses consisted of a filmmaking technique module, a field research training module, and lectures from invited independent documentarians. The lecturers were mainly members of Full Shot Studio, and they created a 'master and apprentice' mode, extending it later so that former participants were invited to join later workshops as additional staff (Chen Liang-Feng 1998: 66-7). The workshops occurred between 1995 and 1998, with participants from different corners of Taiwan making a total of sixty-one documentaries (ibid., 71-4). They were supported by the government organizations, and some equipment was made available by the workshops. However, some participants also used their own video-camcorders. Participants supplied their own budget for making their documentaries, and so they retained copyright (Wu Yi-Feng 2011).

According to the list of the participants' films (Chen Liang-Feng 1998: 71-4), overall, the issues focused on the margins of society, which included, for instance, Taiwanese indigenous culture, social welfare, endangered traditional Taiwanese customs, environmental protection issues, and gay and lesbian issues, to name just a few. This range was similar to that of other documentarians in the early 1990s. For instance, *Jiaxin Village 1996* (*Jiaxin Cun 1996*) (1996) made by Li Ji-Ping, and

Juancun, Old Soldiers and Kind Mothers (*Juancun, Laobing, Aixin Mama*) (1998) made by Liu Jia-Yi, were the documentaries the *juancun* or villages for military dependents allocated by the authorities to military dependents who migrated from Mainland China with the Kuomintang (KMT) government around 1949. The inhabitants of *juancun* came from different provinces in mainland China; they used different dialects, and had different customs distinct from the dominant Minnan culture in Taiwan. Therefore, they formed a specific culture as a minority in Taiwan, which changed rapidly after the end of martial law.

The participants' documentaries followed Full Shot Studio's commitment to long-term observation and participation, as well as reflection of social issues. The Full Shot Studio documentary becomes a specific type of Taiwanese documentary, which made a strong impact on the development of the Taiwanese documentary after the mid-1990s (Li Yong-Quan 2001: 59). The documentary workshops impacted on the development of Taiwanese independent documentary and the attitude of the government towards documentary. In addition, the perspectives on documentary-making of young filmmakers and non-profit organizations were shaped by the workshops and the documentaries that they made (as I will detail in Chapter 7). However, the aftermath of Full Shot Studio's mode of independent documentary production and the workshops lingered well into the 2000s, as demonstrated in the typhoon disaster documentary schemes in 2009.

In 2009, Typhoon Morakot hit Taiwan and caused severe damage. In addition to the rescue efforts, the government released numerous resources for making documentaries related to the story of recovery in damaged areas. The documentary-making schemes stressed local perspectives and long-term stays by filmmakers in order to document the procedure of recovery and the changing of the community after the disaster in terms of local culture, economics and environment. For instance, the Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP) supported twelve independent documentary productions about the aftermath (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2010)[16] and the Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA) supported five

[16] The list of twelve CIP- supported documentaries (2012): *The Call from the Tribe* (*Laizi Buluo de Huhuan*) made by Wu Xin-Ye; *The Woman Who Built the Nest (Juwo de Nüren)* made by Wu Xin-Yu; *The Lily that Never Withers (Baihe bu Kuwei)* made by Chen An-Chi; *Yina Dreams of Her Homeland (Yina You ge Jiayuan Meng)* made by Etan; *The Song of Recovery (Chongjian zhi Ge)* made by Liyageai; *Where is My Hometown (Xiangguan Hechu)* made by Zheng Ze-Wen; *Ku-Luhma (Going Home)* made by Chen Hui-Jun; *Returning to Qinhe (Qinhe Fanjialu)* made Zheng Xiang-Yun; *The Road of Recovery---Jialan Village (Jialan Cun Chongjian zhi Lu)* made by Li Shan-

independent documentary production projects (Council of Cultural Affairs 2010)[17]. Besides the documentary-making schemes supported by the government, the authorities also supported documentary workshops to teach refugees how to record the aftermath of the typhoon disaster. For instance, the documentary series *Good-bye Morakot* (*Zaijian Morakot*, 2010) supported by the government Council of Indigenous Affairs, was made by refugees from indigenous tribes in mountain areas, who participated in the documentary workshops that took place in the damaged regions.

To conclude, the development of Taiwanese independent documentary between the late 1980s to mid-1990s expanded the spectrum of independent documentary-making in Taiwan, not only incorporating a shift towards social issues, but also providing the foundation for the shift to the next stage, between the mid-1990s and early-2000s, which is considered the summit of Taiwanese independent documentary development after the end of martial law in 1987. As I have discussed, the emergence of Full Shot Studio, Firefly Studio and individual documentarians in the late 1980s to early 1990s revealed new aspects of independent documentary-making in terms of mode of production. These included: willingness to seek budget from public sector and non-profit organizations; releasing through film competitions and festivals as well as television channels; and the exploration of documentary forms. These aspects shaped the development of Taiwanese independent documentary after the mid-1990s profoundly. In the next chapter, I will examine their impacts on Taiwanese independent documentary between the mid-1990s and early 2000s in more detail.

Chong; *The Forgotten Daniao and Fushan (Bei Yiwang de Daniao yu Fushan)* made by Wang Zhi-Zhang; *The Helpless Half a Month (Bangeyue de Wuzhu)* made by Yamaiyiya Dawuyana; and *Regulations versus the Rights of Indigenous Regions* made by Baleluge.

[17] The list of five CCA-supported documentaries (2012): *Guchabuan* made by Zheng Fu-Cong; *Good-Bye Xinkai (Zaijian Xinkai)* made by Jiang Mei-Ru and Ke Nang-Yuan; *Among the Woods and Grass (Ren zai Caomujian)* made by Wu Ping-Hai; *After Morakot (Zoule Yige Morakot zhihou)* made by Cai Yi-Feng; and *BaBa's Recovery in Jianlan (Jianlan Baba Chongjian)* made by Li Shan-Chong.

Chapter 7:
Taiwanese Independent Documentary from the Mid-1990s to Early 2000s: Documentary-making as Cinematic Art

Introduction

After the development of the independent documentary as a medium for engaging with social concerns between the early and mid-1990s, Taiwanese independent documentary changed still further in the mid-1990s to early 2000s. This was the first time when the independent documentary was released in movie theatres and achieved theatrical box-office success. Specialized television programmes for independent documentary were launched on the Public Television Service channel. In addition, graduate institutes of documentary production and studies were established in higher education; and a biennial international documentary festival was also launched.

In this period, the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary were changed by broader social influences, especially in the Taiwanese film industry. I argue that the hallmark of Taiwanese independent documentary in this period was the making independent documentary as cinematic art, and that this was due to the deterioration of the Taiwanese feature film industry. And in some degree, the attempt of creating cinematic art was a rebellion of the realism tradition of documentary film in Taiwan. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, there are a couple of key factors concerning the social background that have shifted the Taiwanese independent documentary towards cinematic art. These factors are distinct from the previous political participation and social concern. Funding from government and non-government organizations has helped independent documentary production to thrive. The production of social issue documentaries since the early 1990s has attracted many organizations eager to support independent

documentary-making. Apart from government organizations such as the National Culture and Arts Foundation and Government Information Office, there were other non-profit organizations devoted to subsidizing independent documentary production. For instance, The Cultural Foundation of the United Daily News Group (CFUDN) played an important role.

In addition, as I will detail in this chapter, the establishment of documentary studies in higher education helped lead young generation filmmakers into re-thinking the form and use of the documentary. Tainan National College of the Arts (TNCA, now the Tainan National University of the Arts, or TNNUA) established a graduate institute of documentary studies specifically to train documentary professionals in 1997. The students have made significant accomplishments and built a positive reputation for independent documentary. However, as I will detail below, their achievements also raised controversial debates, as they tried to break through the conventions of Taiwanese documentary. Documentary had been understood as based on realism and social and political participation, but now began to take on more aesthetic aspects, as manifested in the use of animation, the advent of mock-documentaries, and the personal documentary. Unsatisfied with the current realist form, young filmmakers reacted by attempting to 'experiment' aesthetically. For instance, *Floating Islands* (1999), a documentary series project that spanned twelve documentaries, can be seen as a manifesto by documentarians breaking through the conventions of the Taiwanese independent documentary.

As I will demonstrate in this chapter, there were other factors that also helped the development of the Taiwanese independent documentary as cinematic art, including the launch of the Taiwan International Documentary Festival in 1998 and the launch of the television programme, *Viewpoint* (*Jilu Guandian*), on the Public Television Service (PTS) in 1999. *Viewpoint*, became a 'new platform' to support independent documentary. Digital facilities also facilitated 'individual production', which means a single filmmaker operating as director, cameraman and editor. Individual production made extremely low-budget production films possible. This practice was in contrast to the 1980s or early 1990s, when independent documentary was mostly produced by a group, be it a movement group such as the Green Team or a production company such as Full Shot Studio or Firefly Image Studio) (see Chapter 4 and 5).

7.1 The Thriving of Independent Documentary-Making

In this section, I will examine the background that facilitated the thriving of independent documentary-making after the 1990s. I suggest that the subsidies from non-government and government organizations were vital, directly triggering the possibility of making independent documentary individually. In this section, I will examine the issue of independent documentary-making subsidies including the National Culture and Arts Foundation, The Cultural Foundation of the United Daily News Group, and the changing of the government documentary production subsidy policy, to reveal the social background that led Taiwanese independent documentary-making to become a potentially 'movement' from the early to mid-1990s.

7.1.1 Subsidies

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the success of Full Shot Studio documentary workshops that were supported by the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) in the early 1990s encouraged the public to notice independent documentary in terms of social concern. Numerous organizations came forward to support independent documentary-making. These included the newly founded National Culture and Arts Foundation and The Cultural Foundation of the United Daily News Group, although these organizations may not have had set ideas about what constituted documentary production. There had never been subsidies for individual documentary production before, and so this change helped to broaden the possibilities for Taiwanese independent documentary development.

National Culture and Arts Foundation

The National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF) was established in 1996. It was founded by the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA: since 2012, Ministry of

Culture), which is the highest government division charged with cultural affairs, to enhance the art and culture environment in Taiwan, and support the creation of various forms of art. During the mid-1990s to early 2000s, the impact of the subsidy on documentary-making from the NCAF was vital for the development of independent documentary in general and the idea of documentary as cinematic art. .

The government budget for the NCAF in 1996 was NT$2,000 million, or approximately US$65 million. The foundation aimed to reach NT$10 billion or approximately US$322 million of annual government investment, with 60% of the overall budget and donations from enterprises, and other organizations or individuals to make up the remaining 40%. The NCAF's operating budget was sourced mainly from the accrued interest of the foundation (Council for Cultural Affairs 2012). One of the most important items that NCAF supported was documentary-making. It was also the primary source of support for digital independent documentary-making. Under the terms and condition of application for documentary-making, the format of production must be digital. The reason for this condition is to distinguish it from another subsidy by Government Information Office (GIO) for documentaries made on celluloid (Wei Di 2004: 57).

From 1997, NCAF commenced to supported art, with creations; documentary production was the only item that they supported under the broadcasting and media category (ibid., 9). Between 1997 and 2003, the total amount of applicants for the media arts category (including documentary, animation and experimental film productions) was 431 with 120 being awarded. Under this category, there were 308 applicants for documentary production with 84 awards. The proportion of successful applicants for documentary production was 70% (84 out of 120) (ibid., 17).

The content of applications to NCAF was diverse. Wei Di divides the documentary production proposals between 1997 and 2003 according to content into eleven categories: indigenous, cultural and arts, local issues, environment, gender, Taiwanese history, youth, health, labour issues, Hakka and other) (ibid., 21). In terms of the proportion of applications, the largest category was 'indigenous', which included 58 applications; and the second and third largest were 'culture and arts (56)' and 'other (54)' (ibid., 21-2). These statistics reveal some aspects of the development of independent documentary.

The Cultural Foundation of the United Daily News Group

Besides the NCAF, The Cultural Foundation of the United Daily News Group (CFUDN) was another vital organization for stimulating the development of independent documentary in Taiwan between the mid-1990s and early 2000s. The CFUDN project worked over four years (between 1997 and 2000) and supported 16 independent documentary productions, and some awarded independent documentarians became significant characters in Taiwanese independent documentary. CFUDN promoted these documentaries via screening events or television broadcasts.

CFUDN was founded by one of the major newspaper publications in Taiwan in 1981. They supported documentary-making between 1997 and 2000 with different themes. As I will demonstrate in the following section, the result of the CFUDN subsidy showed the diversity of independent documentary-making supported by non-government organizations. In addition, CFUDN documentaries not only continued the idea of independent documentary-making as a medium for social concern, which is the key characteristic of the late 1980s to mid-1990s (see Chapter 6), but also revealed changes in documentary-making in form and technique, so that it became a cinematic art. For instance, Yang Li-Zhou who became an important Taiwanese independent documentarian accepted a CFUDN subsidy twice (1997, 1998) and made his documentary debut with *Firefighter A-Fong* (1997). *Boys for Beauty* (1998) made by Chen Jun-Zhi (Micky Chen) was the first digital independent documentary released into film theatres. CFUDN ceased to support independent documentary production in the 2000's, without any obvious reason. But, undoubtedly, CFUDN had profound effects on Taiwanese independent documentary development, helping to make it a much more popular activity (Teng Xu-Fen and Zhang Liang-Gang 1998: 148).

The foundation proposed the theme 'East Taiwan Perspective 1997' for its first call for independent documentary-making proposals. It aimed arouse concern the under-developed eastern regions of Taiwan. Five proposals were supported: *The Gemalan Tribe in Niaotashizai* (*Niaotashizai de Gemalan*), *1997 Diary of the Yami Flying Fish Season* (*1997 Yamei Feiyuji Shenghuojishi*), *Give Us a Job, Please*

(*Qing Gei Women Yifen Gongzuo*), *Firefighter A-Fong* (*Dahuo A-Fong*) and *The Grandma Who Knows Witchcraft* (*Hui Fashu de Ama*) (CFUDN 1997). All of them were related to indigenous issues, reflecting the fact that one third of the population in east Taiwan is indigenous. In addition, two of the documentarians (Bauki Angaw and Yang Ming-Hui) had indigenous heritage, and they used documentary to reveal their point of view on indigenous issues.

The Gemalan Tribe in Niaotashizai was made by Bauki Angaw (Chinese name Pan Chao-Cheng), and is about the director's discovery of his indigenous heritage. *1997 Diary of the Yami Flying Fish Season* was made by Huang Qi-Mao, a meteorologist stationed in Orchid Island's weather station and trained at Full Shot Studio's documentary workshop in 1995 (Chen Liang-Feng 1998: 72). He used a household digital-camcorder to document an old Tao (Yami) couple in a small village, showing Huang interacting with the old couple, and living with them in a traditional half-underground dwelling. *Give us a Job, Please* was made by Yang Ming-Hui, a local primary school teacher trained at a Full Shot Studio documentary workshop in 1996 (Chen Liang-Feng 1998: 73). The documentary revealed the difficulties of jobless indigenous residents in his area of eastern Taiwan. Yang Li-Zhou's *Firefighter A-Fong* depicted the daily life of firefighters in a Taipei fire station. Yang later became one of the most prominent independent documentarians, and this was his debut. *The Grandma Who Knows Witchcraft* was made by Li Yi-Ze who studied anthropology (Li Yi-Ze 2013). His documentary drew on his field research related to the Pangcah indigenous tribe in east Taiwan and their traditional religious witchcraft practices.

The next year, the CFUDN documentary theme was 'Adolescents 1998', which focused on youth in Taiwan. Three documentaries were made: *High School Yearbook* (*Biye Jiniance*), *A Young Couple* (*Xiaofuqi de Tiankong*) and *Boys for Beauty* (*Meili Shaonian*) (CFUDN 1998). In *High School Yearbook*, Yang Li-Zhou depicted his students in a vocational high school where he taught in his first proper full-time job after finishing military service in 1994. Yang traced his students' circumstances after they graduated and reflected on his own life in his mid-twenties. *A Young Couple* made by Yang Ming-Hui, the director of *Give Us a Job, Please*, who is also a primary school teacher (Chen Liang-Feng 1998: 73). It documented two of his former students raising their son in difficult circumstances as an adolescent couple. *Boys for Beauty* was the first documentary related to gay

adolescents, and it was also the first digital independent documentary released into Taiwan's commercial film theatres (see section 7.3.2). The filmmaker follows three gay adolescents to investigate their relationships with their families and lovers. The documentary adopts the mode of performative documentary identified by Bill Nichols (2001), which means the documentarian utilizes documentary to 'underscore the complexity of our knowledge of the world by emphasizing its subjective and affective dimensions' (Nichols 2001: 131). Although Stella Bruzzi (2006) also suggests the 'performative documentary' in different concept, which means the documentary 'use performance within a non-fiction context to draw attention to the impossibilities of authentic documentary representation' (Bruzzi 2006: 185). *Boys for Beauty* combined these two concepts in terms of its content and form. The notion of performative was one of the significant features of independent documentaries that emerged after the mid-1990s and pursued cinematic art.

In 1999, the theme was 'Homeland Story', referring to the remote areas in Taiwan's countryside. Five documentaries were funded: *Countryside, Religion, Zhentou, Dialogue* (*Nongcun, Zongjiao, Zhentou, Duihua*), *Seven Years Old on Lanyu* (*Qisui zai Lanyu*), *Sob* (*Gengye*), *Coolie Artist* (*Kuli Yishujia*) and *Jibeishua and Grandma Pingpu* (*Jibeishua yu Pingpu Ama*) (CFUND 1999). These independent documentaries also followed the trend of independent documentary characteristics away from social concerns alone to more artistic cinematic forms after the mid-1990s.

In September 1999, a massive earthquake struck central Taiwan and caused severe damage and many casualties. In 2000, CFUDN cooperated with the Public Television Service (PTS) to support three independent documentaries to document the aftermath of the earthquake in the affected regions: *Rebuilding the Life of the Shao Tribe---Weaving a Dream of Moving Back to the Ancestral Land (Shaozu de Buluo Chongjian--- Bianzhi Yige Hui Zujudi zhi Meng), Forest Dream* (*Senlin zhi Meng*) and *Number 43 Plum Lane* (*Meizi Xiang 43 Hao*) (CFUDN 2000). The documentaries focused on the controversial issue of re-locating indigenous villages and showed that the affected areas were mostly the traditional territories of the Taiwanese indigenous districts in the mountainous region. The relocation plan aimed to protect them from future natural disasters. However, these attempts provoked resistance and offended some traditional beliefs in the land and the

ancient spiritual sense of indigenous culture. In addition, they heightened the conflicts over legislation affecting indigenous territories. *Rebuilding the Life of the Shao Tribe* was made by Jian Shi-Lang, who was a member of the indigenous Ita Thaw tribe and a local junior high school teacher. He showed the relocation procedure for his own tribe from his point of view. *Forest Dream* was made by Li Jing-Hui. This documentary depicted how the principal of an earthquake-destroyed primary school tackled bureaucracy and fought for an ideal spot to relocate the school. The filmmaker of *Number 43 Plum Lane* was Chen Zhong-Yu. He depicted the relocation of a Hakka family in the earthquake-affected region.

Taken as a group, the documentaries mentioned above demonstrate that subsidies from the public sector and non-profit organizations gave real opportunities for independent documentary-making. In addition, as I will demonstrate further below, these opportunities facilitated the development of independent documentary as a cinematic art.

7.1.2 Government Policy

In this section, I will examine the Government Information Office's policy of documentary production subsidies. I will show how the policy of subsidizing documentary-making facilitated the development of independent documentary after the mid-1990s. This was a period characterized by new digital production and the emergence of the notion of the independent documentary as a 'new Taiwanese national cinema'.

The Government Information Office (GIO) was the highest government organization in charge of the cinema in Taiwan. As discussed in chapter 5, historically, the documentary had been seen as a form of propaganda by the GIO. Before the end of martial law in the late 1980s, the GIO was one of the main government organizations producing documentaries as propaganda to promote government policy.

In 1998, the GIO launched subsidies policy for feature-length documentary productions, defined as those of 60 minutes or more. As I will analyze in detail below, initially, the GIO subsidy for film production had excluded documentary when it was established in 1991; the subsidy was mainly for short feature film

productions not exceeding 30 minutes and shot on celluloid. In 1998, the GIO converted the policy to include feature-length documentaries and digital productions. Opening up to digital productions offered new opportunities for independent documentary-making.

Before 1997, the GIO was trapped by the issue of how to define 'what is cinema (*dianying*)' and choose between digital production and celluloid, causing hesitation about subsidizing digital productions. This continued until incidents like the '*Not Simply a Wedding Banquet* protest', drove them to amend their policies, allowing independent documentary-making to receive more subsidies from the GIO (Yan Pei-Xin 2005: 21). *Not Simply a Wedding Banquet* (*Bu Zhi Shi Xiyan*) was an independent digital documentary made by Chen Jun-Zhi and Chen Ming-Xiu in 1997. It depicted a gay couple who tried to challenge the marriage law in Taiwan. The documentary was selected by the London Lesbian and Gay Film Festival in 1998. When Chen Jun-Zhi applied to the GIO for support to attend the festival, the GIO refused because its policy did not include digital productions (The Chronicle of Taiwan Cinema database 2005). The decision led to a protest. While Chen Jun-Zhi took advantage of the issue and raised the issue of discrimination against gay and lesbian films, the core controversy actually concerned how the authority failed to recognize digital production, which was the current mainstream mode of production in Taiwanese independent documentary-making, as 'cinematic production'. Eventually, in 1999, the appeals from filmmakers, documentarians and scholars led the GIO to amend their regulations in order to include digital-based-video productions. As well as the subsidies that became available in 1998 for digital feature-length documentary productions, those who made digital productions could apply for subsidies to attend certain overseas film festivals. The new regulation was launched in July 1999 (The Chronicle of Taiwan Cinema database 2005).

In 2005, the GIO changed their policy again. Feature-length documentaries became included under the same subsidy category as dramatic feature films (Eye-Movie 2012). The task of increasing the annual output of Taiwanese film production led the GIO to invest subsidies into independent documentary production. According to the GIO statistics of the number of films released annually in domestic theaters between 1999 and 2004, the highest percentage achieved by Taiwanese films was 8.52% (38 films) in 2000 and the lowest was 4% (16 and 14 films) in 1999 and 2003 (GIO statistics 2003). In 2005, the GIO was

intent on stimulating the output of Taiwanese film. As a result, they listed the independent documentaries that had been released in commercial theaters and thus gained relatively successful box office sales as a positive example of 'new Taiwanese national cinema' (Taiwan Panorama 2005: 44). Thus, the thriving Taiwanese independent documentary sector became a substitute for the declining Taiwanese feature film industry. Including dramatic and documentary features under the same umbrella and giving them the same funding opportunities recognized this circumstance.

GIO subsidy regulations were for the film industry in general, and did not imply specific support of independent documentaries. Rather, the GIO gave resources to documentaries because they were synonymous with the film industry in general. Furthermore, by acclaiming Taiwanese independent documentaries as the 'new Taiwanese national cinema', they were commending themselves and proving their own achievements in helping the declining Taiwanese film industry. Therefore, the GIO was taking advantage of independent documentaries as an alternative form of propaganda. (Lin Cong-Yu 2006: 88).

The change of policy made independent documentary seen as an alternative 'national cinema (*guopian*)', a term that had been used to designate Taiwanese feature films in earlier times. The term, 'new national cinema (*xin guopian*)', was introduced by the GIO, to indicate the thriving Taiwanese independent documentary sector in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The GIO produced advertisements using clips from independent documentaries they had supported, such as *Let It Be* (2004) and *Jump Boys* (2005). In those commercials they used the term 'new national cinema', as well as slogans for government policies related to the content of each documentary. The head of the GIO, Yao Wen-Zhi, claimed this deployment was because 'the documentaries cover many different aspects of Taiwan and can reveal the emotions of Taiwan deeply. Therefore, using the documentary clips to promote government policies that can double the effect of the promotion.' (CNA coverage, Cai Su-Rong 2005; my translation). For instance, *Jump Boys,* a documentary about young gymnasts, became the icon of healthy Taiwan. Also, *Let It Be*, a documentary about a farmer's life, show how the government was concerned about farmers' benefits after Taiwan joined the WTO (World Trade Organization) (Zhang Shi-Lun 2005).

Arguably, the use of the independent documentary by the GIO was mired in controversy, as subsidised independent documentaries were used as 'propaganda' promoting government policy. Nevertheless, government subsidies attracted the young generation of filmmakers involved in independent documentary-making.

7.2 Independent Documentary-Making as Cinematic Art

Independent documentary's emphasis on social issues and community development (as operated by the Council of Cultural Affairs) in the late 1980s to mid-1990s led to subsidies for documentary-making. This created a fertile environment in terms of production budgets. New, accessible and low-cost digital filmmaking facilities also helped the Taiwanese independent documentary to develop rapidly, provided opportunities for filmmakers who were simply eager to get into cinema and could take advantage of independent documentary as a form of cinematic art.

Conventional approaches to documentary film, social practice and educational purposes either seemed to stress the function of documentaries in general, or sought to use documentary as a way of representing reality. However, the fundamental form of documentary film is cinema, and indeed, documentary can be seen as belonging a genre of cinema. Although a documentary is not completed in the same way as a feature film, conceptually they belong under the same umbrella of cinema. In Taiwan, documentary had always been regarded as a vehicle of social and political participation, and making a documentary was a process of realizing a social or political aim; the actual filmmaking was merely a means to an end. For instance, the Green Team in the 1980s used video documentary-making as an alternative approach to spread information that had been blocked by the authorities, and so set out to break media censorship. The concept of artistic creation (*chuangzuo*) was difficult to connect with documentary-making at that moment. The concept of artistic creation for cinematic art was normally related to the process of making dramatic feature films, avant-garde experimental films or animation films.

However, with the changing social and political circumstances in Taiwan, independent documentary-making had become a form for releasing the energy of cinematic art in the wake of the decline of the Taiwanese feature film industry from the 1980s, and became a substitute for Taiwan's mainstream cinema. Digital facilities offered broader possibilities to make documentary as an independent

cinematic art, enabling the personal aspect and taking the independent documentary beyond only political and social participation.

To address these arguments, in this section, first I will briefly give the history of the Taiwanese film industry in the 1980s, and examine how the digital filmmaking facilities were taken up by filmmakers to make independent documentary. Second, I will examine the establishment of new higher education institutes teaching documentary production at the Tainan National College of the Arts (TNCA) in 1996. The institute played a vital role in stimulating independent documentary, and the concept of independent documentary as a cinematic art. Third, I will examine the *Floating Islands* documentary-making project to reveal the traits of those documentarians attempting to make their works as cinematic art. Fourth, I will examine the new approaches for releasing, screening and watching independent documentary that launched new possibilities for Taiwanese independent documentary after the mid-1990s. An example of this was the Public Television Service (PTS) programme *Viewpoint* (from 1999), and the Taiwan International Documentary Festival (from 1998).

7.2.1 The Film Industry and Digital Individual Filmmaking

In this section, I will demonstrate how the decline of the Taiwanese film industry in the 1980s delivered opportunities for independent documentary-making in the mid-1990s. I will examine briefly the history of Taiwanese cinema in the 1980s to explain how relatively low budget digital individual documentary-making engaged with the domestic film industry. In the 1980s, the New Taiwan Cinema (*Taiwan Xindianying*) led Taiwanese film development to new heights; film became a prominent symbol of Taiwanese culture and inspired a young generation to film production. The term, 'Taiwan New Cinema' was launched in 1982 by the film *In Our Time* (*Guangyin de Gushi*). There were four directors (Tao De-Chen, Edward Yang, Ke Yi-Zheng and Zhang Yi) who were not satisfied with the current environment that mixed commercial genres with government-produced propaganda. Their films reflected the realities of Taiwan society and made realism the dominant mode in Taiwanese 1980s film (Zhan Hong-Zhi 1990: 27-8). The style of *In Our Time* was distinct from mainstream fiction films in the current Taiwanese film

industry. It downplayed ideological concerns and was closer to nativist literature (*xiangtu wenxue*), emphasizing the value of humanity (*renwen jiazhi*) (Lu Feii 2006: 274). It shaped New Taiwan Cinema, which did well at first commercially, although there were minor works that failed in the market afterwards as well (ibid., 276).

Although New Taiwan Cinema revealed a new aspect of Taiwanese film in terms of cinematic art, the entire environment of the Taiwanese film industry was aimed towards profits, and this soon led to lower standards of film production, followed rapidly by industrial decline. The total output of Taiwanese feature films between 1980 and 1984 was 552; between 1985 and 1989 it was 481, and between 1990 and 1994 was 242 (ibid., 433). The reason for the decrease is debated[18]. Taiwan New Cinema sustained a few filmmakers' career, but the majority faced shrinking opportunities, especially for young filmmakers. This situation gave independent documentary-making a new chance to assert itself, further boosted by the availability of digital filmmaking.

In the 1990s, the digital camcorder opened a new door for Taiwanese documentary production. Numerous young filmmakers trained to use the digital camcorder, made documentaries independently, and therefore earned enough professional credit to gather resources for their next film (usually a dramatic feature). They chose documentary because the budgets were lower than for dramatic feature film productions. Lin Yu-Xian is a significant example. According to the figures that Lin offered to me (Lin Yu-Xian 2011), the budget for his debut documentary, *Pray for Graffiti* (*Ya zhi Wangdao*, 2002) was NT$100,000 (approximately US$3000), which he got from the PTS open call for a short documentary project. His breakthrough work, *Jump Boys* (2004), had a budget of NT$400,000 (approximately US$12,000). To contrast with Lin's early independent documentaries, the feature films that were directed by him afterwards had higher budgets: his first commercial feature film *Exit No.6* (2007) cost NT$25 million

[18]Some research implies that the crime fiction genre led to the Taiwanese film industry's deterioration. In the late 1970s to 1980s, crime film dominated Taiwanese film's marketing. There was only one crime movie produced in 1978, *Never too Late to Repent* (*Cuowu de Diyibu*), but eleven were produced in 1979. Thereafter, the output of crime films remained relatively higher than other genres. Between 1978 and 1989, there were 324 crime films released; the proportion of crime films exceeded one-third of Taiwanese film output (Lu Feii 2006: 452-3). Their low production quality and content such as pornography and violence sped the decline of the industry (Huang Jian-Ye 1990: 53).

(approximately US$758,000), and later *Jump Ashin* (2011) cost NT$35 million (approximately US$1 million). This shows just how much cheaper documentaries were to make than dramatic feature films. In addition, according to the database of the National Culture and Arts Foundation, the budget of documentaries they supported ranged from NT$100,000 (approximately US$3000) to NT$60,000 (approximately US$19,000). Compared to subsidies for dramatic features from the GIO, these budgets were still relatively low (see section 7.3.3).

7.2.2 TNCA Documentary

In this section, based on my interview and primary materials collected by the field research, I will demonstrate the impact of the establishment of the Graduate Institute of Sound and Image Studies in Documentary, at Tainan National College of the Arts (TNCA), another essential factor that catalyzed the development of Taiwanese independent documentary in the mid-1990s to early 2000s. As I discussed in chapter 2, in prior research, the documentaries made by TNCA students or alumni were described as 'academic documentaries (*xueyuan jilupian*)' or 'individual documentaries (*geren jilupian*)' (Lu Feii 2001; Han Xu-Er 2001), however, in terms of production mode, the documentaries made by TNCA students and alumni were independent documentaries, as I have defined them. In addition, the intention of the independent documentaries made by TNCA students and alumni partially reveals the distinguishing characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary after the mid-1990s, namely, independent documentary-making as cinematic art.

The establishment of the TNCA in 1996 triggered a new generation of independent documentary- as cinematic art. With the compelling achievements of students and alumni, their documentaries became known as '*nanyi jilupian* (TNCA documentaries)'. Huang Yu-Shan claims they can be defined as a 'School (*Xuepai*)', and named it as the TNCA School (*Nanyi Xuepai*) (Huang Yu-Shan 2003).

Tainan National College of the Arts was established in south Taiwan in 1996. The Graduate Institute of Sound and Image Studies in Documentary was founded in the same year. The TNCA invited Ray Jiing (Jing Ying-Rui), a former

director of the Taipei (Taiwan) Film Archive, to design and launch the institute, which was the first higher education institute specifically dedicated to documentary production practice and studies in Taiwan. It was followed later by the Graduate School of Applied Media Arts at the National Taiwan University of the Arts, established in 2000 (NTUA 2012). Ray Jiing argues that the documentary has six paradigms: artistic creation, aesthetic experiment, historical document, method of research, political practice, and educational procedure (Jing Ying-Rui 2009: 6). Jiing claimed that the institute was established to extend his previous work at the film archive and aimed towards theorizing the study of documentary film. Specifically, Jiing theorized documentary as an instrument of social practice and social observation, to document changes in Taiwan society (Lin Liang-Wen, 2011: FunScreen (*Fangying*) e-Magazine no.331). Apparently, Ray Jiing wanted to stick to the conventional conceptualization of documentary, seeing it as an extension of the movements concerning social and political participation and practice in the late 1980s.

Ray Jiing was well-known through his previous achievements when leading the Taipei film archives between 1989 and 1997. His most significant achievements involved 'rescuing old films', including early Taiwanese dialect (*taiyu*) black and white films, which he subsequently restored and preserved in the film archives. He was awarded a medal when he left the film archive and was invited to his new position by the TNCA (The Chronicle of Taiwan Cinema database 2005).

However, the impact of his work went beyond his original expectations. The documentaries made by the early students at the TNCA began to show clear signs of treating documentary as a cinematic art and not just as a means for recording social and political practice. Some students used relatively experimental approaches to make documentaries and were less concerned about the conventions of documentary film, and even tested the relationship between professors and students in the institute (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 184).

For instance, TNCA alumni and current independent documentarians Chen Shuo-Yi and Wu Yao-Dong acknowledged that they had no concept of documentary prior to studying at TNCA. They had their own individual reasons for studying there, and neither aimed for nor anticipated the emphasis of social practice in documentary-making. I interviewed Chen Shuo-Yi (2011) who enrolled in 1996 and is currently working in the documentary profession. Originally, he aimed to

study in TNCA simply because of his personal circumstances; he wanted to move back to his hometown in south Taiwan nearby the newly established TNCA, and help his family by retaining his student status after finishing his undergraduate study in Taipei and thus avoiding military service. He majored in filmmaking during his undergraduate studies, and received basic training for documentary-making in his postgraduate studies. However, he aimed to work in commercial advertising. In addition, he acknowledged that he only made the film, *Homeland Sunset* (*Gunu de Yuanwang*, 1996), which got him accepted by TNCA, to satisfy the taste of the professors in the institute and pass the entrance exam. It was a conventional realist documentary with long takes and long shots that stressed objective and observational viewpoints. The film depicted a young woman who was concerned with the conservation of heritage buildings in her rural hometown, following the pattern of a focus on the margins of society and social issues. However, the viewpoint in *Two Guys Go Hunting* (1998), Chen Shuo-Yi's first documentary work after enrolling at TNCA, emphasized relatively less social concern and more of the director's personal experience. The documentary followed two jobless young males to see how their crazy idea to earn money with a rare insect and small animal species exhibition panned out in Pintung, a small town in south Taiwan. Compared with *Homeland Sunset*, Chen Shuo-Yi admitted that *Two Guys Go Hunting* corresponded more to his own ideas about documentary film. Chen Shuo-Yi said, '… I aimed to introduce my professors to different documentary-making approaches to see their reactions after viewing my documentary' (Chen Shuo-Yi 2011; my translation). The documentary revealed the private lives of the two main characters, Xiaoliu and A-Feng, including A-Feng's betrayal of his wife. The form and the content of the documentary is different from the conventional Taiwanese documentary before the mid-1990s, without a focus on social issues, or the use of long takes and long shots to create a relatively objective viewpoint. Chen adopted ideas from dramatic feature filmmaking to construct a dramatic narration through editing and music composition. This approach led to severe criticism from some of his professors (Chen Shuo-Yi 2011).

Although the documentary was not completely accepted by some TNCA professors, *Two Guys Go Hunting* gained the Taipei Award Grand Prize in the Taipei Film Festival in 1998, and revealed alternative possibilities for documentary-making as cinematic art. The jury gave the documentary this

comment: ‘a documentary that makes a breakthrough without being limitation by convention. It nimbly depicts the dreams and realities of two young men on the margins. Richly creative, this documentary surprised and moved us’ (Huang Si-Jia 1998; my translation). In addition, Chen De-Ling also gave the documentary the following critique:

> ‘The creative design of this film aims to avoid using the intimacy between documentarian and subject as a mere gimmick. Instead, with skillful techniques, director Chen Shuo-Yi blends himself into the film, to deliberately reveal the controversy, in terms of the definition of documentary, between “performance in front of the camcorder” and “ the representation of actuality” and therefore challenge concepts of documentary-making,…the plot of this film made it difficult to identify whether it was true or false, making it a *melodrama about life.*’ (Chen De-Ling 2005: 42; my translation)

The example of Wu Yao-Dong also reveals the intention of young generation documentarians at the TNCA to attempt to challenge conventional concepts of documentary-making. Wu was also among the first graduates. According to my interview with him (2011), he had no idea about documentary initially, and his concept of documentary was constructed after entering TNCA. Wu Yao-Dong said that he did not expect to enter TNCA at the very beginning. He was interested in photography when he studied for his undergraduate degree and aimed to work for a newspaper as a photographer after graduating. In the last year of his undergraduate studies, one of his friends invited him to attend the entrance examination for TNCA together. For that purpose, he started to prepare a short documentary using a V8 electronic video-camcorder, and edited with two V8 video-camcorders. The short documentary that he made for the entrance examination was *4:06* (1996). He explained that because he had no concept and only basic documentary skills, most of the ideas for this film were adopted from documentary photography (Wu Yao-Dong 2011).

The documentary depicted the earliest commuter train between Taipei and Yilan city, which left at six minutes past four every morning. The first shot was a dead cat’s body that had been run over by a taxi that he saw on the way to take the train early one morning. Wu said that he felt this image was photogenic, and so he used it as the opening shot. Although filmed with a V8 camcorder, the shots that he

took and edited in this film looked like a sequence of still photographs; the framing was steady and without camera movement. This was not a conventional documentary as social practice.

After entering TNCA, Wu Yao-Dong made *Swimming on the Highway* in 1999, which won the Ogawa Shinsuke Prize at the Yamagata International Documentary Festival in Japan in the same year. The documentary depicted a male HIV carrier's life. The film contained a number inserted that conveyed Wu's first person perspective. First person documentary was not a new invention. For instance, Dong Zhen-Liang's *The Dilemma of Returning Home* (1989) included her personal perspectives about the difficult realities of transportation for Kinmen residents (see Chapter 5). But using first person perspective to expose the filmmaker's private and intimate feelings was rarely seen before the TNCA student documentaries emerged. Huang Yu-Shan writes that, the students in TNCA,

> …(take advantage of) the accessibility of the digital video camcorder to make their filmmaking like writing or even adopting the "diary film" or "autobiographic film" forms… The professors questioned why they did not frame their documentaries in the political-economic context. The students frequently replied, "we merely aim to make a documentary with a sense of lyricism, instead of 'big' themes about society or the nation (Huang Yu-Shan 2003: 20; my translation).

I studied at the Graduate Institute of Sound and Image studies in Documentary between 1988 and 2002, its third year of operation. According to my personal observation and interviews with TNCA alumni Yang Li-Zhou, Chen Shou-Yi, and Wu Yao-Dong, the production mode of these TNCA documentaries in the early years was mainly 'individual production (*geren zhizuo*)'. The term means that the filmmaker makes a documentary by themselves without other supporting team members. This was quite different from the production mode of previous Taiwanese independent documentaries such as the Green Team or Full Shot Studio in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Under the mode of individual production, students played multiple-roles such as producer, director, cameraman, soundman, and editor. This situation also shaped the emergence Taiwanese independent documentary as a cinematic art. I suggest there are three main reasons for individual production: (a) digital filmmaking makes it possible; (b) the annual

assessment requirements encouraged students to work alone; and (c) they had micro-budgets for making their works. The TNCA provided digital-cameras (Sony DCR VX-1000), non-linear editing systems (Adobe Premiere 5.0 for Windows) and linear-systems (Sony Betacam). The digital-camcorder could film the image and record the sound on location at the same time without an assistant. Therefore, these functions met the basic needs for documenting events, and matched the goal of the institute to use documentary as a vehicle for social and political practice. Thus, the techniques and skills of filmmaking were not required for admission to the institute. According to the entrance requirements, a BA degree related to filmmaking was not required (TNCA Catalog 1998: 23). Some of the students had no filmmaking background. For instance, Yang Li-Zhou majored in Applied Arts in his BA degree. In addition, the syllabus placed less emphasis on film aesthetics than the contents or issues raised by the documentary itself. Production quality was also not core to the training or seen as essential in the annual assessment. The most important aspect was whether the content of the documentary could convey social practice and social issues. Ironically, in terms of cinematic production quality, this meant individual filmmaking was acceptable for assessment, including hand-held shooting with unsteady shots, imperfect sound recording, or poor lighting. However, the works should still capture social practice. Most students adopted digital production to facilitate their work. For instance, Yang Li-Zhou acknowledged that digital filmmaking gave him more freedom because of the relatively low-budget and minimal film crew. He claimed that the digital home video camcorder was a 'gift' to him for his early independent documentaries, before *My Football Summer* (2006), and was especially cost-effective given the price of videotapes (Yang Li-Zhou 2011).

Being assessed annually also motivated students to make documentaries individually. Each student had to finish a documentary at the end of the academic year. Training in the TNCA tended towards conventional observational and participation documentary modes, which the professors themselves also advocated. Therefore, students were required to immerse themselves in their fieldwork and filming over a significant period. This made it difficult for students to work as a team. In addition, in order to avoid distracting their documentary subjects (especially when dealing with a sensitive issue), the students tended to minimize equipment and crew.

Time limits on production led to a controversial debate about the TNCA documentary approach. The debate indicated that students did not learn comprehensively how to make documentaries, and suggested that they adopted the approaches from their professors incompletely. The situation caused most TNCA documentaries to lack sufficient depth about their subject. For instance, the conventional approach of Wu Yi-Feng, the founder of Full Shot Studio, who also taught at TNCA, was to participate with his subjects over the long-term. However, due to the time-limits on production, students adopted Wu Yi-Feng's approach partially, and squeezed their fieldwork into a limited amount of time. The resulting crises may have negatively affected many of those interested in making documentaries independently via the same approach (Chen Ru-Xiu 2007: 80).

Budget limitation was the third reason for making documentaries individually. Apart from those who could gain subsidies from outside the campus or were granted awards by participating in competitions, most students made their documentaries with their own budgets. This meant that aside from the facilities provided by the institute, the students needed to pay their own production expenses such as transportation and accommodation. This situation encouraged micro-budgets and individual productions.

In addition to these three reasons I have suggested, Lee Daw-Ming also claims that some TNCA students were not entirely happy with documentary realism and aimed for more artistry, using experimental approaches to make documentaries that were less concerned with the conventions of documentary film (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 184). All these factors combined to open up a space for the exploration of documentary as cinematic art at the TNCA.

The professors who taught in the institute were mostly established documentarians, including Wu Yi-Feng, Zhang Zhao-Tang, and Guan Xiao-Rong. The requirement to complete a documentary each year also generated a very large amount of TNCA documentaries, which students could enter into competitions in the effort to further their careers and find funding opportunities for upcoming documentary production budgets.

As a result, TNCA documentaries gained a good reputation. Students and alumni from the institute were awarded in most documentary competitions (Li Yong-Quan 2007: 64), attracting attention to independent documentary and inspiring other filmmakers to also attempt documentaries as cinematic art. For

instance, the prize-winning TNCA documentary *Two Guys Go Hunting* (1998) made by Chen Shuo-Yi went against convention and stimulated debates on and off campus, as well as inspiring others such as the makers of the documentary series, *Floating Islands* (1999), which claimed to challenge the aesthetics and forms of current Taiwanese documentary.

7.2.3 *Floating Islands*: An Experiment

In this section, I will examine the controversies about the aesthetic aspect of documentary-making, and will cite the project *Floating Islands* (1999) as an example of the attempts by independent documentarians to challenge the conventional Taiwanese documentary.

Problems with the conventional approach had emerged by the mid-1990s. Low technical standards that allowed handheld cameras and shaky shots as well as a lack of aesthetic diversity in documentary-making all appeared (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 73). The literature from the time indicates that conventional realism, enhanced by accessible, digital facilities and the influence of observational and participatory documentaries of the 1980s and early 1990s, had led to criticism of Taiwanese independent documentaries (Li Yong-Quan 2007: 63; Lin Cong-Yu 2006: 71). Some argued that an over-emphasis on the value of the social issue documentary by the TNCA was limiting young documentarians (Chen Ru-Xiu 2002: 16). However, I believe that these critiques actually inspired documentarians to try alternatives, as was the case with *Floating Islands*. The project was not only a challenge to realist conventions of Taiwanese documentary (Chen Shu-Qing 2002: 160). *Floating Islands* also indicated that the crisis of aesthetics led the Taiwanese documentary to develop along the line of the 'performative documentary' as defined by Stella Bruzzi (Chen De-Ling 2002: 7). Lee Daw-Ming argues that although the series opened a new aesthetic approach, adopting elements from animation and experimental film to enrich the form of documentary, it may not change the essence of documentary. However, even Lee Daw-Ming admits that the conventional notion of the documentary, in terms of Bill Nichols' argument that a practitioner who makes a documentary aims to engage with the integrated society,

was no longer the key issue for the young generation of Taiwanese documentarians (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 75). Therefore, *Floating Islands* was still an important case that exemplified the most significant characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary after the mid-1990s, namely, independent documentary as cinematic art.

In 1999, Zhou Mei-Ling proposed a documentary series called *Floating Islands* (*Liulidoaying*) and invited twelve filmmakers to participate. She acquired the budget from Public Television Service (PTS) and other foundations such as the National Culture and Arts Foundation. Zhou herself was a documentarian and later became a director of commercial feature films. Zhou states, 'basically, we consider ourselves artists, and our documentary films are another form of artistic creation' (Chen De-Ling 2001: 2; my translation). Zhou claims that this documentary series was an aesthetic intervention aimed to make documentaries via unconventional approaches. She affirms that the series confronted the mainstream and conventional Taiwanese documentary with the 'marginal aesthetics' (Zhou Mei-Ling 2001: 21).

The project consisted of twelve short documentaries[19], and depicted twelve islands surrounding the Taiwan mainland. The documentarians aimed to challenge the existing conventions of the Taiwanese documentary and explored the possibility of form and aesthetic of independent documentary production. Therefore, some of them used animation in documentaries, a novel approach in documentary production in Taiwan at the time. For instance, *Who Is Fishing @?* consisted of newsreel clips and animation to criticize political issues via irony. Some used approaches drawn from experimental film. For instance, *Silent Delta* documented the most remote territory of Taiwan, three forgotten northern islands off the mainland, avoiding interviews, narrative and sound-in-location entirely. Instead, it included a high percentage of abstract and artistic sequences and a partially silent soundtrack, which had rarely been seen before in Taiwanese documentary. The

[19] The list is: *The Floating Ball (Fuqiu)* directed by Li Zhi-Qiang, *Who Is Fishing @? (Shei Lai Diaoyu)* directed by Chen Xin-Yi; *The Paradise Islands Dongsha;*
An Isle Like a Crab (Nanzhidao zhi Nanzhidao) directed by Li Meng-Zhe; *Libangbang (Qing-Wen Buzai Jia)* directed by Guo Zhen-Di; *Trouble (Jilongyu de Qingchun Jishi)* directed by Wu Jie-Min; *Silent Delta (Jinsheng Sanjiao)* directed by Shen Ke-Shang; *Before the Radiation (Fushe Jiang Zhi)* directed by Zhou Mei-Ling; *Turtle Island: Nostalgic Voices (Xiangchou Duihualu)* directed by Li Yong-Quan; *My Own Privet Green Island (Wode Ludao)* directed by Lin Jing-Jie and Xu Qi-Yan; *03:04* directed by Huang Ting-Fu; *Shadow Dancing at Matsu (Matsu Wuying)* directed by Jian Wei-Si; and *West Island (Xiyuping)* directed by Zhu Xian-Zhe.

silent soundtrack was intended to imply the abandoned circumstances of the three remote islands. Another episode, *03:04,* combined observational documentary with an experimental concept. *03:04* revealed the daily life of soldiers stationed on Kinmen, an island close to China. The film showed objects in slow motion, constant overlapping images, and used a soundtrack with no specific meaning to create a sense of experiencing Kinmen through the director's subjective perspective. *The Paradise Islands Dongsha: An Isle Like a Crab* was about a restricted military zone in the South China Sea. For the soundtrack, the director created an ironic narrative read by a narrator imitating the authoritative tone of propaganda. These instances represent the formal diversity of the series.

As the producer, Zhou Mei-Ling arranged a screening for the *Floating Island* series at the TNCA in 2000. Zhou claimed that it was a —challenge to the realist tradition maintained by the Institute of Documentary Studies at the TNCA since its establishment (Zhou Mei-Ling 2001: 21). It is difficult to say whether any lasting effect emerged in TNCA students' works, but her stance indicated perceptions of the differences between her position and that of the TNCA.

On the other hand, Chen De-Ling argues that *Floating Islands* can be seen as following the concept of the performative documentary defined by Stella Bruzzi. Bruzzi argues (2006) that the traditional concept of documentary utilized the form to represent so-called reality. However, the performative documentary heralds a different notion of documentary 'truth' that acknowledges the construction and artificiality of even the non-fiction film (Bruzzi 2006: 186). In other words, performative documentaries are 'films that feature performative subjects and which visually are heavily stylized and those that are inherently performative and feature the intrusive presence of the filmmaker (ibid., 187)'. Chen suggests that the documentaries in *Floating Islands* challenge the so-called 'truth' told to audiences about the islands shown in this series, and the directors manipulated the form of documentary using unconventional ways to formulate an alternative reality by 'breaking the conventions and inaugurating innovation' in the Taiwanese documentary. (Chen De-Ling 2002: 11-4). Overall, projects like *Floating Islands* embodied the distinguishing characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary production in the mid-1990s, which is that filmmakers utilized independent documentary-making as cinematic art.

7.2.4 New Platforms: *Viewpoint* and TIDF

In this section, I will examine how the PTS programme *Viewpoint* and the Taiwan International Documentary Festival shaped Taiwanese independent documentary in this period by helping young filmmakers and releasing sufficient resources to fund their work.

Apart from higher education and subsidies from government or non-governmental organizations, which were improving the development of the Taiwanese independent documentary in the mid-1990s to early 2000s, there were new platforms emerging to assist the development of independent documentary in Taiwan as cinematic art. The two most important were the television programme *Viewpoint* (*Jilu Guandian*) on the Public Television Service (PTS), and the Taiwan International Documentary Festival (TIDF). I argue that the emergence of these platforms encouraged filmmakers to make independent documentary as cinematic art and subtly guided the filmmakers to create their later feature films drawing on their independent documentary-making after the mid-1990s. I will show in this section how the platforms offered documentarians new approaches. First, they could show their independent documentaries via mass media like terrestrial television, where the audience was much bigger than for a feature film released theatrically. Second, the festival exposed them to diverse subjects and forms of overseas documentaries, thus broadening independent documentarians' understanding of the potential of documentary film. PTS *Viewpoint* offered budgets either through co-productions or via public calls to bid for funds for independent documentary projects.

PTS *Viewpoint*

PTS *Viewpoint* was launched in December 1999 as the first television programme broadcasting single independent documentaries in Taiwan. The slogan of the programme was 'artistic diversity and an independent viewpoint', to encourage Taiwanese independent filmmakers involved in a range of independent documentary productions (PTS 2012). According to PTS's public announcements and website database, *Viewpoint* had three main approaches to acquire

documentaries for their weekly hour-long broadcasts: (a) co-production with independent documentarians or production companies; (b) calls for independent documentarians to sell copyrights of their finished works for television screening; and (c) an annual call for applications to make a co-production, sometimes with a specific theme, such as schooling, parenting, and various other social issues. All these approaches facilitated independent documentary-making as cinematic art in Taiwan at the time.

Notably, according to their objectives (PTS 2012), PTS *Viewpoint* did not especially focus on the social or political value of documentary film, let alone see documentary as a form of news coverage. This led PTS *Viewpoint* to become an ideal platform for broadcasting diverse contents, genres and forms. According to the Internet archives of the PTS *Viewpoint* playlist (PTS 2011), at first, apart from the documentaries made by PTS, those screened were mainly from three sources. First, they were purchased from independent documentarians or students. These included works by independent documentarians Mayaw Biho (episode 2; *Dear Rice Wine, You Are Surrendered by Me* (*Qing'ai de Xiaomijiou, Ni Bei Wo Dabai Le*) [1998]), Zhou Mei-Ling (episode 17; *The Drifting Habour* (*Piaofu de Gangwan*) [1999]) and Dong Zhen-Liang (episode 22; *The Father on the Blacklist* (*Heimindan Baba*) [2000]). They also included works made by TNCA students, such as *Under the Same Roof* (2000; episode 40) made by Su Pei-Rong, and *After the Champion* (*Guanjun zhi Hou*) (2000; episode 41) made by Zeng Wen-Zen. Second, there were independent documentary productions that were supported by non-government foundations such as the NCAF and CFUDN (see Chapter 6). Examples included *Countryside, Religion, Zhentou, Dialouge* (episode 6), *Jibeishua and Grandma Pingpu* (episode 8), *Seven Years Old on Lanyu* (episode 9) and *Coolie Artist* (episode 10). Third, there were documentary series financed by PTS and made by independent documentarians, such as *Floating Islands* (episode 29 to 33).

The annual call for co-production projects hosted by PTS *Viewpoint* was a vital resource for the development of Taiwanese independent documentary at the time and catalyzed the development of the distinguishing characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary in this period, namely documentary-making as cinematic art. According to press releases from PTS, the annual call was launched in 2002 (*PTS Viewpoint* 2002). *Viewpoint* invited short documentary (ten minutes duration) production proposals from the public, and aimed to recruit five to

six proposals annually via a committee of professional film directors and other film experts. Each successful proposal would receive NT$100,000 (approximately US$3,300) as production funding. The project encouraged young or first time documentarians to make short documentaries, with finished works to be shown on PTS *Viewpoint*. Indeed, there were some young filmmakers who made their first mark with this project and gained other chances to become professional filmmakers afterwards. For instance, Lin Yu-Xian made *Pray for Graffiti* (*Ya zhi Wangdao*) with the support of the PTS *Viewpoint* short documentary-making project, leading to his breakthrough independent documentary *Jump Boys* (2004) and a future career in feature films (see section 7.3.3). In just ten minutes' duration, *Pray for Graffiti* traces a graffiti artist via the graffiti that he left everywhere in Taipei. This documentary featured rapid editing, strong music and a sense of humor, all innovations for documentary-making in Taiwan at the time. Afterwards, *Pray for Graffiti* was nominated for the digital short programme in the 2002 Golden Horse Award Film Festival, and went on to other film festivals (GIO 2011). This earned it a really positive audience response and built a reputation for the programme and the director himself. PTS *Viewpoint* used such stories as models to promote how the project could help young filmmakers. For instance, the PTS short documentary call in 2011 used 'Finding another Lin Yu-Xian and Hou Ji-Ran' as the slogan on the website (PTS 2011), revealing the attitude of PTS *Viewpoint* clearly.

The *Viewpoint* annual call for applications for short documentary production projects had another meaning in terms of the development of independent documentary in Taiwan. It made eager young documentarians imitate the successful model of *Pray for Graffiti*, since they wanted to gain a reputation rapidly to assist their future professional careers. Therefore, the idea of making novel and innovative documentaries gradually spread, encouraging the making of documentaries as cinematic art. Furthermore, the PTS *Viewpoint* short documentary film project was much more attractive than other subsidies, because the terrestrial television service provided greater visibility. The range of documentaries made by some later PTS filmmakers after Lin Yu-Xian's success with *Pray for Graffiti* manifests an emphasis on diverse artistic expression over social issues. Examples include Wang Yen-Ni (*Flight Maker*, 2003), Hou Ji-Ran (*My 747*, 2004), Wen Zhi-Yi (*The Incantation of Cos-play*, 2004) and Jiang Xiu-Qiong (*Neinei*, 2004). They followed Lin Yu-Xian into feature film or television dramas afterwards. For

instance, Hou Ji-Ren got a chance to make *One Day* (2010), his debut commercial dramatic feature film, after finishing several award-winning independent documentaries (Taiwan Cinema 2011); Wen Zhi-Yi moved into television drama and directed her first television single drama, *The Taste of Niangre* (*Niangre de Ziwei*, 2008), for PTS (PTS 2012); and Jiang Xiu-Qiong moved into television drama and documentaries for theatrical release, directing the television single drama *Wormwood* (*Ai Cao*) for PTS in 2009 (Taiwan Cinema 2012).

Apart from the PTS annual call for projects, *Viewpoint* also invited independent documentarians to cooperate with them, offering a relatively high budget of between NT$1.25 million (approximately US$38,000) and NT$2.5 million (approximately US$760,000) per documentary production (Yang Li-Zhou and Wu Yao-Dong 2011). These co-productions sometimes came with additional content requirements proposed by PTS, or sometimes just involved the original proposals suggested by the documentarians. This process strongly supported independent documentarians, such as Yang Li-Zhou and Wu Yao-Dong.

In his interview with me, Yang Li-Zhou acknowledged that in the beginning of his independent documentary-making career, support from PTS *Viewpoint* gave him a relatively stable income, so that he could finish his documentaries independently. This was was vital for him to become a professional documentarian later. Yang Li-Zhou had started his connection with PTS *Viewpoint* when he studied at the TNCA. He had a relationship with PTS *Viewpoint* for approximately five years. Especially at the point when he received his degree and left TNCA, *Viewpoint* was essential in enabling him to continue independent documentary-making. Yang said that the reasonable budget provided by PTS *Viewpoint* covered his basic living expenses while making documentary independently as a full time job. In terms of the content and form of the documentary, the relative freedom also encouraged him to continue cooperating with PTS *Viewpoint*. Yang made five documentaries in cooperation with *Viewpoint*: *Out of Place* (*Liunian*, 2000), *The Old West Gate* (*Lao Ximen*, 2001), *Floating Woman* (*Piaolang zhi Nü*, 2002) and *Someone Else's Shinjuku East* (*Xinsuyi Dong Kou Yi Dong*, 2003) (Yang Li-Zhou 2011).

Wu Yao-Dong also agreed that *Viewpoint* was crucial for him. His experience with *Viewpoint* helped him understand how to make documentaries for television and to engage in documentary-making professionally. After gaining a

reputation with his prize-winning documentary, *Swimming on the Highway* (1999), Wu set out to become a professional independent freelance documentarian. PTS *Viewpoint* offered him a budget and a year's time to make *Down the River* (*Fang Liu*, 2003), a documentary about two young artists' lives and art works based on his own proposal (Wu Yao-Dong 2011).

Taiwan International Documentary Festival

The Taiwan International Documentary Festival (TIDF) is another vital new platform for the development of Taiwanese independent documentary. TIDF was the first film festival in Taiwan that specifically aimed to show documentary. In this section, I will demonstrate that TIDF can be seen as a consequence of the growing independent documentary-making sector in Taiwan after the development of documentary in the early 1990s. The launch of TIDF implies a re-thinking of documentary as social and political participation, cultural expression, social concerns *and* a form of cinematic art instead of being classified as merely political propaganda.

The key proposer of TIDF, Li Ji, claimed that the motivation for hosting a documentary festival was simple; he wanted to justify the documentary as a pure critical and humanist form. TIDF could achieve goals that film festivals hosted by authorities such as the Golden Horse Film Festival hosted by the Government Information Office could not, including the sense of promoting social justice via documentaries (Huang Si-Jia 1998). However, TIDF not only played a key role in social justice; the films shown indicated that it also broadened the vision of what documentary could be for both audiences and documentarians. Huang Jian-Ye said,

> '…after the second festival was launched, not only were there outstanding documentarians from outside who started to visit Taiwan, but they also extended the understanding of documentary-making domestically, leading the documentary to become a popular form in Taiwan's culture.' (Huang Jian-Ye 2005; my translation)

Lee Daw-Ming also stated:

> ‘Foreign guests were surprised by the long line waiting to see documentary films during the 1998 and 2000 TIDF. It was a clear sign that audiences in Taiwan yearned for documentaries, especially those from abroad.’ (Lee Daw-Ming 2009:68; my translation)

TIDF was launched in 1998 and took place every two years. The festival was supported by the Council of Cultural Affairs (Huang Si-Jia 1998). Every two years, tenders were invited from qualified non-profit organizations for programming the film festival. In the first (1998) and second (2000) events, TIDF was run by the Taiwan Documentary Development Association, but changes in the programming team led to diversity. For instance, the theme in 1998 was *Return to Asia*; the theme in 2000 was *Crossing the Actuality* (TIDF Handbook 1998; 2000). TIDF also launched documentary competitions and encouraged Taiwanese independent documentarians. Through the competitions, the successful Taiwanese independent documentaries gained visibility and this encouraged filmmakers to make documentaries to promote their professional careers. Numerous Taiwanese independent documentarians won the International Competition Awards (open to all participants). For instance, Chen Yi-Jun, whose works were supported by CFUDN, won with *The Coolie Artists* in 2000, and Zhou Mei-Ling (Zero Zhou) won the same award in 2002 for *Poles Extremity*. Besides the international competition awards, the Taiwan Award was founded especially for Taiwanese documentaries. Most of the recipients were independent documentaries, and not produced by mainstream filmmakers or television stations. For instance, Zhou Mei-Ling’s *Corners* (*Si Jaoluo*) won in 2002*,* Yang Li-Zhou’s *Someone Else’s Shinjuku East* in 2004 and *Let It Be* (*Happy Rice*) by Yan Lan-Quan and Zhuang Yi-Zeng in 2004. The diversity of TIDF programmes combined with the incentive to win competitions encouraged Taiwanese independent documentarians to innovate.

Besides screenings and competitions, TIDF also hosted conferences and forums related to documentary studies. These aimed to disseminate new ideas about documentary-making in Taiwan. For instance, in 2002, TIDF hosted a conference on the ‘aesthetics of documentary’, which was intended to re-examine the over-emphasized idea of realism that had narrowed possibilities for documentary-making in Taiwan (TIDF Handbook 2002). Overall, TIDF extended the spectrum of documentary in Taiwan.

7.3 The Diversity of the Independent Documentary in the Early 2000s

In this section, I will demonstrate three further phenomena that emerged and support my argument on the importance of documentary as cinematic art in this period: (a) the emergence of first-person documentary production; (b) the success of theatrical documentaries, showing that independent documentaries became a substitute for local dramatic features in the film market at the time; and (c) the independent documentarians moving into dramatic feature filmmaking after gaining a reputation from their independent documentaries. In this section, I will give specific instances of independent documentaries and filmmakers who have followed just such a path.

7.3.1 First-person Documentary

The project of *Floating Islands* in 1999 marked an experiment by documentarians who wanted to challenge the formal conventions of Taiwanese. Fujioka Asako, the programmer of the Yamagata International Documentary Festival in Japan, argues that the young generation documentarians in Asian countries such as Taiwan, Japan and Korea are no longer interested in social issues. They dedicate themselves to making documentaries in new styles, and 'personal documentary-making' was emerging at the end of the 20th century with the availability of relatively accessible digital filmmaking (Fujioka Asako 2002). The emergence of first-person documentary in the early 2000s in Taiwan, I argue, indicated the development of Taiwanese independent documentary-making into a stage of relatively diverse forms as part of the emphasis on cinematic art.

According to Laura Rascaroli (2009), the essence of first person filmmaking relates to its autobiographical content. Such a film engages with autobiography, diaries, notebooks, travelogues, letters and self-portraits in varying degrees of intensity. Hence, the film contains a private confessional style. In addition, first person filmmaking links three traditions, which are 'the personal cinema of the

avant-gardes; that of auteur and art cinema; and that of the first-person documentary (Rascaroli 2009: 106).' After the Graduate Institute for Documentary Studies was established at the TNCA, as described above, first-person documentary emerged among the students' works. Examples include *My Home Work* (*Wo de Huijia Zuoye*, 1998) made by Zeng Wen-Zhen, which depicts the interaction between her and her mother during the period of the winter vacation at home. This film won a Golden Harvest Award in 1998 (Golden Harvest Award Handbook 1998). *Rinan* (1999), made by Wu Jing-Yi, traced her family members and revealed a family secret in her hometown of Rinan. It was screened in the Women's Film Festival (TNCA 2000). *Journey of Circumstances and Opportunities* (*Jiyu zhi Lü*, 2000) made by Zheng Hui-Ling, depicts her realizing that she was a SLE (Systemic Lupus Erythematous) sufferer and what happened afterwards. *The Daughters' Nest* (*Nüer Chao*, 2002) made by Chen Xing-Fen, reveals the life of an alternative unmarried family constructed by her and her three female friends. It screened at the TIDF 2002 (TIDF Handbook 2002). Xu Hui-Ru's *Hard Good Life* (*Za Cai Ji*) (2003) depicts the interaction between her and her father, and won an Award of Excellence at the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival. Li Jia-Hua's *The Spirit of 8* (*Ershiwu Sui Guoxiao Er Nianji*) (2003) looks back at obsessive events that happened while he was eight years old, and screened in the South Taiwan Film Festival (2003), the Taipei Film Festival (2004) and the Yamagata International Documentary Festival (2005) (Lin Mu-Cai 2010). And *Farewell 1999* (*Zaihui ba 1999*, 2004) made by Wu Tai-Ren (also known as Wu Jing-Yi and Wu Wuna) depicts her personal grief and mourning about the loss of her mother. It screened in the Taipei Film Festival in 2003 (Lin Mu-Cai 2010).

7.3.2 Theatrical Releases

Hu Tai-Li's *Passing Through My Mother-in-Law's Village* (*Chuan Guo Puo Jia Cun*, 1997) was the first Taiwanese documentary officially released into the commercial film theatre system (Jing Ying-Zao 2011: 406). The documentary was shot on 16mm film. Hu is a visual anthropologist, and the film was all about a village where her mother-in-law lived, and the way its life and changed with the expansion of a neighboring city. The documentary was released in single theatre in

Taipei for a week, and the box office was approximately NT$500,000 (approximately US$12,500) (Lin Mu-Cai 2010). In 1999, *Boys for Beauty* (1998) made by Chen Jun-Zhi (Micky Chen) was the second independent documentary released into mainstream film theatres, when it screened at Warner Village Cinema in Taipei (Lin Mu-Cai 2010). The documentary was concerned with gay adolescents' life and loves.

Ever since the terrestrial television began in Taiwan in 1962, documentaries had typically used television. Whether this was true for independent productions such as the series *Fragrant Formosa* in the 1980s or Full Shot Studio's documentaries in the early 1990s, and it was also the case with government propaganda documentaries. However, with the emphasis on cinematic art there was more opportunity for theatrical release in Taiwan in the early 2000s, especially after the pioneering achievements mentioned in the previous paragraph. Lee Daw-Ming indicates that theatrical releases became the new aspiration of documentarians, because the screening conditions would be better than on the television (Lee Daw-Ming 2007: 185). This is also befitting the idea of documentary as cinematic art, instead of simply a record of social and political practices and events.

2004 marked was a highpoint in the development of Taiwanese documentary, due to the box office success of theatrical documentaries which was never to be repeated (ibid.). According to the box office statistics[20], there were three cinema documentaries in the top ten films in the domestic market. They were: in first place *Gift of Life* (2004), in fifth place *Burning Dreams* (*Ge Wu Zhongguo*, 2003), and in eighth place *Viva Tonal* (*Tiaowu Shidai*, 2003).

Gift of Life was made by Wu Yi-Feng using a Sony VX-1000 digital video-camcorder, and looked at the aftermath of a severe earthquake that happened in central Taiwan in 1999. It premiered and was released in Taipei theatrically. Unlike prior documentaries and contrary to the stereotype of the documentary, *Gift of Life* won the public's attention and accumulated a total Taipei box office of over NT$10 million (over US$300,000), even outdoing some feature films, including Tsai Ming-Liang's *The Wayward Cloud* (2005) which only just made NT10 million in the whole domestic film market (Li Xiao-Fan 2007).

[20] http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_59d19f910100bb0q.html (accessed date: 1st March 2013)

Burning Dreams (2003) was directed by Peng Wen-Chun, who had been an advertising film director. At that time, advertising was an alternative choice for film professionals, due to the weakness of the domestic film industry (Zou Nian-Zu 2004). *Burning Dreams* was filmed on super 16 and transferred onto 35mm for theatrical release. It was Peng's theatrical debut (ibid.). The documentary depicted a Taiwanese tap dancer who was based in Shanghai, with his friend, who was dedicated to promoting the culture of tap dance in China. The documentary was nominated for Best Documentary at the Golden Horse Awards in 2003 (Golden Horse Award 2012).

Viva Tonal (2003), made by Jian Wei-Si and Guo Zhen-Di and shot on 16mm, was about the history of Taiwan's popular music and singers between 1920 and 1945, during the Japanese colonial period. The film was released theatrically in 2003, and awarded Best Documentary at the Golden Horse Awards in the same year (ibid.).

Other significant instances of theatrical releases included *Let It Be* (*Happy Rice*) (2004), directed by Zhuan Yi-Zeng and Yen Lan-Quan using a Sony PD-150 digital video-camcorder). This documentary depicted a rice farmer's ordinary life in the countryside of south Taiwan, to reveal the impact of joining the WTO (World Trade Organization) on Taiwan's agriculture sector. The film also won numerous awards (Lin Mu-Cai 2010). *Chronicle of the Sea: Nan-Fang-Ao* (2004) was directed by Li Xian-Xiao on 16mm and transferred to 35mm print for theatrical release in 2005. The film showed fishermen and the decline of the traditional fishing industry in a harbour in northeast Taiwan. It was awarded Best Documentary at the Golden Horse Awards in 2004 (ibid.).

To analyse the theatrically released documentaries between 2003 and 2005, apart from *Gift of Life* and *Let It be*, the theme was related to biography (*Burning Dream*) and culture (*Viva Tonal* and *Chronicle of the Sea: Nan-Fang-Ao*). *Gift of Life* was about the aftermath of the 1999 earthquake, and the director Wu Yi-Feng, founder of Full Shot Studio, also proclaimed the importance of social issues in his preference for the participatory mode (Nichols 2001) of documentary production. Nevertheless, in *Gift of Life*, he also brought in his personal life in the form of his relationship with his own father, and narrated a fictional character. These were major innovations for him, implying a determination to move documentary-making beyond only social and political concerns.

Compared to previous Taiwanese independent documentaries, the content and theme of these theatrically released documentaries in the early 2000s are less directly connected to social and political movements or conventional realist ideas of Taiwanese documentary. The contents and themes refer to social issues, but their form indicates the pursuit of cinematic art as a priority. The performative mode (Nichols 2001), where the documentarians underscore their knowledge of the world by their subjective and affective interpretations, was common. This form 'freely mixes the expressive techniques that give texture and density to fiction (point-of-view shots, musical scores, renderings of subjective states of mind, flashbacks and freeze frames, etc.) with oratorical techniques for addressing the social issues that neither science nor reason can resolve' (Nichols 2001: 134).

Yang Li-Zhou is a significant example of an independent documentarian who consistently aims for theatrical releases, and who has become an iconic independent documentarian. He is a TNCA graduate. According to my interview with him, after he graduated, he worked as an independent filmmaker and launched his own studio, producing mainly documentaries. His first theatrical documentary was *My Football Summer* (2006). The film depicts a junior high school football team in a small town in east Taiwan. Initially, the theme was proposed by the sports company Nike to advertise their products through a short film, which was to be made by Yang Li-Zhou. After finishing the short advertisement, Yang decided to develop the theme as a full-length theatrical documentary, and received investment from Serenity Entertainment International in Taiwan. The film was awarded Best Documentary at the Golden Horse Awards in 2006. Yang has gone on to make *Beyond the Arctic* (2008), *The Long Good-Bye* (2010), and *Young at Heart: Grandma Cheerleaders* (2011). As an independent documentarian, Yang has two principles on how to make a documentary regardless of the source of the budget: the theme of the documentary should be something that needs to be documented, and Yang must retain the total right to edit and narrate the documentary without any intervention from funder (Yang Li-Zhou 2011).

Independent production theatrical documentaries became a new form in the late 1990s to early 2000s, and have continued to appear. The emergence of theatrical documentary revealed the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentary that aimed to create a sense of cinematic art and partially been seen as a substitute product in the domestic film market.

7.3.3 From Documentary to Dramatic Feature Film

Independent documentarians changing their careers over to making dramatic feature films after gaining a reputation for their independent documentaries was another significant phenomenon between the mid-1990s and early 2000s. In this section, based on my in-depth interview, I will analyze the case of Lin Yu-Xian, who started his film career in independent documentary-making and moved into the dramatic feature film territory afterwards, to explain how filmmakers can switch their career in this way. Lin is a key example of the crucial role of making documentaries as cinematic art in this transition, and his successes in both independent documentaries and dramatic features have made him an iconic figure. In cases like this, independent documentary-making became a stepping stone

According to my interview with Lin Yu-Xian (2011, 2012), he has always chosen occupations that can 'tell a story' as his profession since he was in senior high school. Originally, he wanted to become a radio broadcaster. However, part-time work experience as an undergraduate in an advertisement film production studio as an assistant producer between 1998 and 1999), along with his work after completing military service in a the personal studio of commercial and feature film director Wu Mi-Sen, made him realize that he really wanted to tell stories as a filmmaker. The first time that documentary attracted his attention was seeing *Moon Children* (1990, directed by Wu Yi-Feng) when he was a third year student. And because of this documentary, he decided to transfer his major from mass communication management to film production. In addition, work experience made him re-think the possibilities of documentary, and challenge the idea that the documentary should only be a vehicle for documenting reality. He believed it could also be a way to tell a story with moving images, based on reality. When PTS launched *Viewpoint* in 2002, Lin made the ten minutes short documentary film, *Pray for Graffiti*. Lin acknowledges that although *Pray for Graffiti* was a documentary, he designed a screenplay in advance to manage the story about an unknown street graffiti artist (who was eventually unveiled during the documentary). Lin shot plenty of footage, following the pattern of the dramatic feature, using actors to impersonate the characters that he created for his scenario (Lin Yu-Xian 2011, 2012). The final documentary is mostly footage collected from shooting locations and interviews, and only a small portion of the fictional footage

was used. Lin Yu-Xian explained that when he started to edit the film, he realized that for the purpose of telling the story, the footage that he collected from the real events was better than the fictional footage.

In 2003, Lin Yu-Xian lost his job in Taipei and borrowed a Panasonic DVX-100 digital video-camcorder from a friend of his before returning to his hometown of Yilan, a small town in northeast Taiwan. His brother was a gymnastics coach in the primary school, and trained a group of young gymnasts preparing for a competition in the following year. Realising that it was not possible to make a feature film due to lack of appropriate conditions, and based on his prior experience with *Pray for Graffiti*, he decided to make a documentary to tell his brother's story. Lin stressed that although the content of the documentary depicted the team of young gymnasts in a vivid way, it was really about a younger brother looking at his own sibling. This was how he conceived the acclaimed documentary, *Jump Boys* (2005).

Jump Boys showed the process of training the child gymnasts and showed their perseverance. According to the interview, the documentary was released into domestic film theatres in 2005 after gaining reputation in documentary film festivals and the sale of its copyright to the Japanese investor TWIN in 2006 (Lin Yu-Xian 2012). *Jump Boys*, was a highly profitable film, claiming a return on investment of 150% in terms of its domestic film box office (Liu Yu-Wen 2005). Lin Yu-Xian said, the pure production budget of *Jump Boys* was approximately NT$600,000 (approximately US$20,000). NT$200,000 came from Lin himself, and NT$400,000 was an NCAF subsidy. In addition, after its festival success, Lin received a further investment from a friend of NT$2 million (approximately US$67,000), to transfer the video onto 35mm, making its copyright saleable to Japan and allowing participation in the Golden Horse Award. He also then had a budget to promote the documentary in commercial film theatres. As a result, the total return was approximately NT$6.4 million (approximately US$213,000). NT$400,000 came from the domestic box office, NT$900,000 from DVD sales, NT$500,000 from sales to television, and NT$1 million from overseas sales of rights. In terms of box office alone, the results were not up to commercial film market expectations. In addition, Lin Yu-Xian stresses that the budget for *Jump Boys* did not contain his own salary and other relevant expenses such as transportation and accommodation. Besides doing a part-time job, he received

financial support from his family during the making of the documentary for more than two years. But even to be compared with commercial features was as achievement for *Jump Boys*. The documentary won Best Documentary at the Golden Horse Awards in 2005. Lin acknowledges that the accomplishment of *Jump Boys* led to the opportunity for his first feature-length fiction film, *Exit No.6* (2007) (Lin Yu-Xian 2012).

Conceptually, Lin thought the narrative of the documentary did not merely reflect the actuality that the camera has documented, but also the subjective perspective he had constructed in advance. In other words, he used the filmed subject of the documentary to reveal the story that he wanted to share with the audience, in contrast of the conventional approach of trying to reflect reality for social or political purposes. In Lin Yu-Xian's second feature-length fiction film, *Jump Ashin* (2011), he adopted the genuine background of *Jump Boys* and the life story of his brother to devise the narrative for the film. This demonstrates Lin's priority of cinematic art over documentation of reality. His intention in making the film was to narrate a story no matter by what approach. Therefore, his new career was a predictable result. As Lin Yu-Xian said,

> 'Some documentary competitions questioned whether *Pray for Graffiti* was a documentary because of its form. When I watched documentaries from overseas, with various forms and styles, I started to question why we could not do the same in Taiwan? Therefore, while I made *Jump Boys*, there was always a sense of reflection on the concept of making the fiction film.' (Lin Yu-Xian 2011; my translation)

Zhou Mei-Ling, who was a key member of Firefly Studio (see Chapter 6) and the producer and director of *Floating Islands* (1999), also became a dramatic feature film director. Her feature film debut was *Splendid Float* (*Yan Guang Si She Gewutuan*, 2004), and her latest feature film work is *Ripples of Desire* (*Hua Yang*, 2012). Hou Ji-Ran, who made *My 747* (2005) as his documentary debut on PTS, directed *One Day* (*You Yi Tian*) (2010) as his feature film debut afterwards. His latest feature film is *When a Wolf Falls in Love with A Sheep* (*Nan Fang Xiao Yang Muchang*, 2012). Guo Zhen-Di was awarded Best Documentary for *Viva Tonal* (co-directed with Jian Wei-Si) in 2003, and then directed her debut feature film *Step by*

Step (*Lian Lian Wu*) in 2009. Zeng Wen-Zhen who made the documentary *My Home Work* (1998) while at the TNCA went on to direct *Fishing Luck* (*Dengdai Feiyu*, 2005) as her feature film debut.

To conclude, the most significant characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary between the mid-1990s and early 2000s was independent documentary-making as cinematic art. In this chapter, based on interviews and primarily materials, I have examined the key filmmakers' motivations in making independent documentary, and analysed the independent documentaries that they made to support my arguments. I have questioned the ambiguous terms asserted by other researchers, for instance, 'individual documentary' or 'academic documentary', and proposed that these films are independent documentaries. And I have clarified the definition of independent documentary in this period in Taiwan in terms of my historical perspective.

The development of Taiwanese independent documentary at this stage revealed the variety of documentary-making in Taiwan. Although it was still difficult to define the circumstances of independent documentary-making between the mid-1990s to early 2000s as a 'movement', the rapid changes during this period did bring a new appearance to documentary production in general in Taiwan, directly influencing the development of Taiwanese independent documentary in the 2000s. As I will discuss in the next chapter, the popularity of independent documentary-making derived from the concept of using independent documentary-making as a vehicle to express self-identities, for instance, those of Taiwanese indigenous peoples that used only to be represented from the perspective of the dominant mainstream majority. I will demonstrate how independent documentary-making in Taiwan began to engage with a sense of self-identity in the following chapter.

Chapter 8:
Independent Documentary as Expression of Identity: After the 2000s

Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that independent documentary-making in Taiwan has gradually become a way of claiming social and cultural identities in the 2000s. Brian Winston (2000) argues that the documentary camera cannot simply deliver an unaltered reproduction of the truth; therefore, production means 'mediation' between what the camera records and the viewer ultimately sees. In addition, documentary-making was not necessarily familiar to a wide audience and so its production can raise some problematic ethical issues for an audience not familiar with the form (Winston 2000: 132, 137). To avoid such controversies, for instance, The National Film Board of Canada trained Native American filmmakers to produce documentaries from a 'tribal viewpoint'. A similar movement emerged among Aboriginal Australians. The BBC's Community Programme Unit produced *Video Nation* with a similar idea in mind (ibid., 142-3). In Taiwan, after the 2000s, independent documentary-making also showed an emerging engagement with issues of identity among those who had hitherto been filmed subjects. Ethical issues may not be at the core of Taiwanese independent documentary-making after the 2000s. However, it did involve hitherto filmed subjects trying to make documentaries by themselves. Effectively, they were using the process of 'mediation' to express their identity in their own way.

As I will demonstrate in this chapter, independent documentary was used by groups who had never had a public voice or by those who were previously the filmed subject in other people's documentaries. Consequently, by making

independent documentaries, these groups acquired a chance to speak out with their own voice. For instance, indigenous peoples, foreign spouses and foreign labourers used to be filmed as 'marginal issues' by professional documentarians or in news coverage. Specifically, these subjects were depicted by the dominant culture in either a positive or negative way. However, this style of depiction showed a failure to account for the filmed subjects' own viewpoint and their voice around issues raised by their respective positions in Taiwan society. After gaining awareness of their identity, the filmed subjects started to learn how to use documentary-making independently as a new means to depict themselves, and construct their own personal perspectives. This was so not only for professional documentarians, but also numerous amateur filmmakers, who asserted their social and cultural identity through independent documentary.

Although independent documentary-making was still being used as an instrument for social and political participation, the situation was actually somewhat different from the late 1980s. Specifically, independent documentarians then aimed to use independent video documentary-making to break through media control. However, after developments in documentary from the late 1990s to early 2000s, the cinematic aesthetics had become recognized as a vital element of documentary. However, the concept of creating cinematic art was not seen always to be essential for the documentaries under consideration in this chapter. So although there were some professional documentarians who wanted to claim identity through independent documentary-making, including indigenous and Hakka documentarians, rather more documentaries were made by complete amateurs, such as foreign spouses and foreign labourers. In addition, these 'amateurs' were the very subjects who wanted to assert their identity through independent documentary-making. A prominent example is indigenous documentary film, as I will demonstrate in section 8.2.

Another instance related to claims of ethnic identity is Hakka culture in Taiwan. In this chapter, I will explain the background of the Hakka Affairs Council (HAC) and the government-supported Hakka television channel, Hakka Television Service (HTS), to explain how the HAC and HTS helped the Hakka people to employ independent documentary-making as a means to claim their identity.

Apart from ethnicity, there are other groups in Taiwan society that have taken advantage of independent documentary to speak out. I will detail the

background of new migrants and give instances of the documentaries that were made by them. (see section 8.3.3). In addition, I will compare the difference in terms of production mode and form between documentaries made by professional documentarians, and those made by foreign spouses and foreign labourers.

Finally, as part of Taiwan society, the *waisheng* (out of the province) migrants who came to Taiwan from mainland China around 1949 with the Kuomingtang (KMT) government after defeat in the Civil War between Chiang Kai-Shek's government and Mao Communists are a distinct group in terms of ethnic and migration matters. In this chapter, I will examine the contribution of documentary-making workshops that were organized by the *waisheng* related non-profit organizations.

8.1 Ethnic Groups and Migrants in Taiwan

Although Taiwan is a relatively small island (approximately 36,000 square kilometers), it contains four main ethnic and sub-ethnic groups: the Indigenous tribes; the Fukien Taiwanese (also called Fukienese, Hoklo or Minnan); Hakkas; and Mainland Chinese (*waisheng*) (Cooper 2009: 12). The different groups have distinctive historical backgrounds, and are involved in different social and political activities in Taiwan. In this section, I will briefly analyze the background of the different groups. In the subsequent paragraphs, I will also discuss how political circumstances engaged these groups differently, as part of the explanation of how the respective minority groups have made the independent documentary into a form for identity expression. I will focus on indigenous tribes and the Hakka people, two of the most significant examples, to explain the characteristics of the Taiwanese independent documentary after the 2000s.

8.1.1 Ethnic Groups

Taiwan society's four main ethnic groups can be understood according to their time of 'arrival' on the Taiwan mainland. The Taiwanese indigenous tribes are generally considered ethnically different from the three Chinese groups and are the earliest residents of Taiwan. In fact, they are recognized as belonging to different races compared to the other three. However, the other three Chinese groups can be more accurately described as being 'different' from each other according to their provincial rather than racial origins, and specifically so in regards to the time they arrived in Taiwan, as well as the language or dialects they spoke. The terms 'early arrival' and 'late arrival' Chinese have also been used to describe the differences between the Fukien Taiwanese and the Mainland Chinese (Cooper 2009: 12).

Common understandings suggest that the Taiwanese indigenous tribes migrated from Southeast Asia or South China several millennia ago. According to the Principle Law of Indigenous People (*Yuanzhumin Jibenfa*), fourteen indigenous

tribes are recognized by the authorities in Taiwan: the Pangcah (Amis), Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Puyuma, Rukai, Tsou, Saysiyat, Tao (Yami), Ita Thaw, Kebalan, Sakizaya, Taroko and Seediq (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2012). Other tribes can be identified, but all are either small or are being assimilated. All the aborigines are less urban than the three Chinese groups mentioned above. And with the exception of the Tao tribe living on Orchid Island (Lanyu) off Taiwan's southeast coast, most reside in the Central Mountain Range area or on the eastern coastal plain (Cooper 2009: 13).

Early Chinese migrants to Taiwan were mainly from Fujian and Guangdong provinces in China. Now, these early migrants are considered 'Taiwanese' or described as 'native Taiwanese' (ibid.). There are two distinct groups of Taiwanese migrants: the Fukien Taiwanese (*minnan ren*) who came mostly from the southern part of Fujian Province, and the Hakka Taiwanese (*kejia ren*). Some of the latter also came from southern Fujian, but most came from Guangdong province. The migration of both groups was concentrated when the fall of the Ming Dynasty in 1644 brought a particularly large wave of migration from Fujian Province to Taiwan (ibid.).

The Fukien Taiwanese brought their own social structure and organization with them from China (ibid., 73). While their culture was Chinese in origin, Fukien culture was nonetheless distinct. After migration to Taiwan, their culture gradually changed in the absence of direct ties with China. They were significantly affected by fifty years of Japanese colonial occupation and encounters with other foreign countries. Originally, the Fukien Taiwanese were mostly farmers, fishermen, and traders. Though many still are, increasing numbers of them have entered business—usually family businesses or firms owned and operated by other Fukien Taiwanese. Since then, they have dominated the business community, and their socioeconomic status has improved faster than other ethnic groups in Taiwan (ibid.). The Fukien Taiwanese have also become active in politics. They have joined political parties like the Kuomingtang (KMT) and later the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), and have also applied for government jobs. Their status and influence has expanded from the 1970s onwards to such a degree that they are now the dominant ethnic group in Taiwan politically (ibid., 74). Democratization has clearly favored the Fukien Taiwanese. Because the Fukien Taiwanese constitute a numerical majority

(around 70% of the population), they often regard the other ethnic groups as minority groups (ibid.).

The culture and social structure of the Hakka people were unique in mainland China before they migrated to Taiwan. Hakka people originally inhabited North China, but were driven out to become a people 'without a homeland' (ibid., 72). Hakkas can be identified by their customs, ancestral records, and dialect. Although Taiwan has had cultural homogenization in recent years, the Hakkas' identity and different culture remain. Many Hakkas still live in Hakka communities, for instance, in Liudui region in southern Taiwan. However, Hakka social customs and values still differ from the Fujian Taiwanese and the mainland Chinese (ibid.,73).

Apart from Fukien Taiwanese and Hakka Taiwanese, in the period around 1949, when the Communists defeated the Kuomintang (KMT) armies and assumed political control of the mainland of China, another wave of Chinese immigrants arrived in Taiwan. Because they came from different provinces of China, they were known as 'mainlanders' or *waisheng* people (outside-province people). The Mainlanders who fled to Taiwan did not consider their stay permanent. They hoped that the KMT military could recover the mainland of China and allow them to return home. However, the possibility of recovering the mainland diminished over time, so most Mainlanders began to acknowledge Taiwan as their home, and gave up thoughts of returning to China (ibid., 15).

8.1.2 New Migrations since the 1980s

Apart from the ethnic groups and the immigration from Mainland China around 1949 due to political reasons, two immigrant groups have contributed to Taiwan's development into an ethnically diverse society: foreign labourers and foreign spouses. These groups began to appear in and after the 1980s. The integration of these two groups in Taiwan created its own issues.

The foreign labourers described here specifically refer to the labourers that immigrated to Taiwan and entered the workforce in blue collar and domestic labour positions, for example as housekeepers, nurses, and carers. The introduction of foreign labour to Taiwan was initiated in the 1980s. In the 1980s, rapid economic

growth created supply pressures in Taiwan's labour market, such as a lack of available manpower, especially for infrastructure such as transportation networks. Therefore, in 1989, the government opened up Taiwan's labour market to permit contracted labourers from abroad for government capital construction projects. Subsequently, they opened up other relatively labour-intensive or heavy-duty industries, too. This includes, for instance, the electronics industry, machine manufacture, textiles and building. They introduced these opportunities to contract labour from abroad in 1991, and opened the labour market to foreign domestic labour in 1992 (Wu Hui-Lin & Wang Su-Wan 2001: 49, 52). The labour market has been opened up to six listed countries: Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam and Mongolia so far. According to government statistics (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training 2013), the total number of foreign labourers in Taiwan was 451,202 in March 2013, including 243,382 industrial labourers and 207,820 domestic labourers. The largest population of foreign labourers in Taiwan was industrial labourers from Vietnam (80,580) and domestic labourers from Indonesia (162,770). Generally speaking, since the policy was launched in 1989, the total number of foreign labourers in Taiwan has gradually increased from the total of 326,515 at the end of 1989. Foreign labour has gradually become an important component of Taiwan's contemporary society.

The foreign spouse is another immigrant group in Taiwan. In contrast to foreign labourers, foreign spouses who immigrated to Taiwan through marriage had permanent resident status in Taiwan. The phenomenon of transnational marriage (especially female foreign spouses who immigrated to Taiwan through marriage) started in Taiwan in the early 1980s (Hsia Hsiao-Chuan 2000: 47). 'Foreign brides (*Waiji xinniang*)' who came from Thailand and the Philippines were appearing in rural areas. Also, the number of foreign female spouses who came from Indonesia and Vietnam significant increased in the early 1990s (ibid). According to the research, the driver for transnational marriages was related to trade between Taiwan and Southeast Asia countries, as well as domestic economic development within Taiwan. Between the 1980s and early 1990s, the economy in Taiwan was influenced by globalization; the domestic industries shifted to high-value manufacturing such as IT. Hence, low-tech industries and their workforces were relatively uncompetitive both in the domestic labour market and even within the marriage market. With the economy in Southeast Asia also influenced by

globalization, it too experienced economic deterioration. Such economies sought opportunities to export to other wealthier countries, such as Taiwan, and this helped to support transnational marriage by those who were familiar with circumstances in both regions. The level of investment from Taiwan to Southeast Asian countries was consistent with the number of Taiwanese males marrying Southeast Asian female spouses between the late 1980s and early 1990s (ibid., 64). According to government statistics, as of the end of March 2013, the population of foreign spouses was 476,575 in total (National Immigration Agency 2013). The overwhelming majority came from China, Hong Kong and Macau. However, in aspects of ethnic and cultural matters, transnational marriages between Taiwan and some Southeast Asian countries have also become a relatively significant phenomenon. To analyse the figures, except for those who came from China, Hong Kong and Macau (total 321,737; or 67.51%), the population of spouses who came from other nations totaled 154,838 (32.49%). The majority of foreign spouses who came from other nations were those who arrived from Southeast Asia, including: Vietnam (total 87,918; or 18.45%), Indonesia (total 27,755; or 5.82%), Thailand (total 8,344; or 1.75%), the Philippines (total 7,543; or 1.58%), and Cambodia (total 4,284; or 0.9%). Under this category, recorded accounts of foreign spouses who came from non-Southeast Asian countries were 18,994 (or 3.98%). Immigrants arriving after the 1980s have generally integrated well within Taiwan's contemporary society.

8.2 The Establishment of Ethnic Government Organizations

Within the social context of Taiwan society in the 2000s, the Fukien Taiwanese comprised the majority of Taiwanese people. This numerical bias has led to Fukien Taiwanese culture being seen as representative of Taiwanese culture as a whole for a long time. However, that situation has changed over time as more diverse social contexts began to emerge in Taiwan and influence both political and social issues. The more democratic social environment resulted in indigenous tribes and Hakka people having their own specific government organizations[21]. The second and third ethnic groups in Taiwan consequently had their own official voice and dedicated themselves to managing relevant ethnic and cultural issues in the political sphere. More importantly, this balanced the power with the dominant Fukien Taiwanese group. In this section, I will examine the background of the establishment of two organizations specific to the indigenous tribes and Hakka people. I will also analyze how Taiwanese indigenous tribes and Hakka people initiated their own rights of cultural expression through the media, as representatives and important parts of Taiwanese culture, more strongly than ever before. For instance, this involves the establishment of their own television channels supported by respective government organizations. I argue that the television channels and their subsidies for documentary directly stimulated independent documentary-making as an act of reclaiming social and cultural identity.

8.2.1 Ethnic Affairs Organizations

[21] For the welfare of outside-province people who migrated to Taiwan during the late 1940s to early 1950s with the KMT government, there was also a governmental organization: the Veterans Affairs Commission, under the Executive Yuan. The commission was established in 1954, mainly to work for the KMT army and their dependents that retreated from Mainland China. (http://www.vac.gov.tw/content/index.asp?pno=54; VAC; 4 September 2013) They were also the main body of the group of outside-province people— the so-called *waisheng* people.

After the end of martial law in the late 1980s, the political influence of the *waisheng* people waned. These *waisheng* people composed the core of the KMT government that had retreated from mainland China, led by Chiang Kai-Shek and his son Chiang Ching-Kuo. In 1996, for the first time, a direct presidential election was held in Taiwan. The successful candidate was Lee Teng-Hui, who had Fukien Taiwanese roots and was born in Taiwan in 1923 during the Japanese colonial period. This election marked the shift of core political power from the *waisheng* people to the native Taiwanese (Cooper 2009: 53). At that moment, political rights among different ethnic groups became an important issue. The establishment of The Council of Indigenous Peoples and The Hakka Affairs Council came about in this context. The Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP) was established in 1996. In the past, indigenous people were severely discriminated against by the Chinese population (ibid., 71). In 1996, the legislators Cai Zhong-Han and Walisibeilin (both of them being from and representing indigenous people) proposed a new governmental division under the Executive Yuan—the highest ministerial organization in Taiwan. Research indicates that the establishment of the CIP was a political deal between the two main parties—the Kuomintang ruling party and the Democratic Progressive Party opposition party—in the Legislative Yuan. The DPP wanted to be voted in as chairman and deputy chairman in the Legislative Yuan. The other minority groups (especially indigenous members of the Legislative Yuan) had a pivotal role to play in the vote. Therefore, their proposal for establishing the CIP was accepted by the KMT government as part of a deal. In addition, the concept of a grand compromise (*da hejie*), which echoed the policy for integration of ethnic groups (*zuqun ronghe*), was proposed by the DPP and the New Party's representatives. This meant the sharing of equal social and political powers between different ethnic groups in Taiwan matched by the notion of establishing the CIP. The CIP was now the highest administrative unit dedicated to indigenous affairs, including aspects of culture, education, economics, and social welfare related to indigenous peoples in Taiwan. This underlined the importance of equal rights for Taiwanese indigenous tribes (Huang Ling-Hua 2004: 130; 134; 137).

Another ethnic government organization, the Hakka Affairs Council (HAC), was established in 2001. It is the only organization for Hakka affairs established by a nation's central government anywhere in the world (Hakka Affairs Council 2012). The council aims to preserve Hakka culture worldwide, and stand up for the social

and political rights of the Hakka group in Taiwan. According to research on the background of the HAC, during the Taiwanese presidential election campaign in 2000, a number of formal proposals were made for Hakka policy by Wu Bo-Xiong, who is Hakka and also a key staff member of the KMT presidential candidate, Lien Chan and his deputy, Siew Wan-Chang (Vincent C. Siew). These advocated the establishment of a central government level organization for Hakka affairs as one of the key policies for the KMT presidential candidates. Afterwards, although the KMT lost the election and DPP candidate, Chen Shui-Bian and Annette Lu won the election, the policy was still presented as a bill to the Legislative Yuan by KMT lawmakers with Hakka roots. The KMT had a majority in the Legislative Yuan and other lawmakers with Hakka roots supported it, so the bill to establish the Hakka Affairs Council passed in May 2001 (Qu Wen-Fang 2001). The HAC is the highest authority for Hakka affairs in Taiwan, with a significant annual budget from government. It is in charge of education, culture, economics, and social welfare concerning the Hakka people.

8.2.2 Indigenous and Hakka Television Stations

The establishment of a government apparatus in charge of ethnic affairs delivered possibilities to construct different ethnic identities. The launch of specific television channels was one strategy that directly encouraged indigenous and Hakka people to make independent documentaries to express their identities. In this section, I will examine the background of the two television channels that depended on the CIP and the HAC, and the controversies regarding their establishment, especially for the indigenous television channel, in order to explain how their establishment is connected to the development of independent documentary for building ethnic identity in Taiwan.

Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Television

This section shows that before the official establishment of a specific indigenous television service in Taiwan, there were schemes aimed at training

indigenous peoples to empower their access to the media. It argues that the aims of these training schemes were to show indigenous peoples that newsreel production or documentary-making could be an effective way to express their own perspectives and identities, laying a foundation for using independent documentary to express ethnic identity in the 2000s.

In 1995, the Public Television Unit (PTU; forerunner to the Public Television Service [PTS], which was established in 1997) proposed a training scheme for indigenous news professionals. The scheme focused on professional skills relevant to news production, and claimed to be 'giving the video-camcorder to indigenous peoples' (Jiang Guan-Min 1996: 65). Afterwards, the participants worked for the PTS news programme *Indigenous Peoples' News Magazine* (*Yuanzumin Xinwen Zazhi*). In 2001, the CIP, the Council of Labour Affairs (CLA) and PTS proposed a joint vocational training scheme for indigenous people in television production. According to the documents, the six-month scheme had 30 full-time participants. The CLA offered sufficient financial support to them to cover their living expenses during the training period, and ten of them would go on to be selected and offered positions in PTS after finishing the scheme. The authorities claimed that the scheme aimed to break stereotypes about indigenous people, for instance that they can only engage in physical labour. In addition, the scheme aimed to support the rights of indigenous people to access the media (Jin Hui-Wen 2001). Subsequently, in 2002, a similar joint scheme was proposed by the authorities and an enterprise (CMC Motors). According to news coverage, 124 candidates competed for 30 full-time positions. Unlike the prior scheme, which contained the concept of vocational training, the four months' scheme in 2002 focused on documentary production skills specifically aiming to cultivate indigenous people who could document their local cultures and histories (PTS 2002).

Apart from the schemes mentioned above, Indigenous Television (ITV) was launched in 2005, supported by the CI). The schemes proposed by ITV also facilitated the use of independent documentary by indigenous peoples to express of their identities. ITV transmits its signal through a common satellite and delivers programmes to households by cable television systems or individual satellite receivers. In the beginning, ITV did not have its own crew, facilities and studios to produce the programmes. Instead, it was affiliated to commercial television stations

such as cable or terrestrial television stations by annual tender. CIP provided the budget as a project and invited existing domestic television stations to produce and transmit the programmes. After 2007, ITV changed its name to Taiwan Indigenous Television (TITV), and established its own production crew and studio facilities. TITV was also affiliated with the Taiwan Broadcasting System (TBS). This group of government-funded-television stations and channels operates within the framework of the Public Television Service (PTS). In addition, in order to stress indigenous perspectives, the CIP authorized the commercial television station Taiwan Television Enterprise to recruit and train the staff needed to operate the television channel. The training programme was launched in 2006, and the essential criterion was that participants were required to be indigenous (Xu Xian-Hui 2010: 25). The concept showed the fundamental intentions of the establishment of TITV.

The aim behind TITV was 'giving the right to indigenous peoples to access the (television) media, and creating the indigenous viewpoint' (TITV 2013; my translation). However, TITV raised controversial issues regarding its nature and productions during its infancy. Most of the controversies engaged with the issue of indigenous identities and political ideologies. In 2005, indigenous independent documentarian Mayaw Biho questioned whether, as a medium for Taiwanese indigenous people in general, TITV really did speak up for Taiwanese indigenous peoples. He suspected that TITV was supporting specific politicians, including non-indigenous politicians, and becoming a 'megaphone' for them (Mayaw Biho 2005: A15). Another controversy was the candidate for the role of the director of TITV. According to news coverage, in 2006, a non-indigenous candidate, Yu Kan-Ping, was nominated to be director of TITV. As a result, this sparked opposition from Kong Wen-Ji, a lawmaker representing indigenous people. The lawmaker argued that TITV should justify its position as an indigenous broadcast medium, and always seek to highlight its indigenous identity. Therefore, the director of TITV, although a largely symbolic position, should still be someone who has indigenous roots (Xu Yu-Li 2006). Despite its controversial beginnings, the establishment of TITV asserted the right to use indigenous languages to express cultural perspectives that concerned Taiwanese indigenous people (Chen Chu-Zhi 2007: 132). In 2006, TITV launched a call for documentary-making schemes for the first time. It invited proposals that would compete for a documentary-making subsidy. Originally, the scheme was only open to professional production studios and registered

organizations with permits for film or video production. The scheme was not open to individuals. However, this created barriers for indigenous people. At the time, non-indigenous people ran the majority of production studios and registered organizations related to filmmaking, and only two were owned by people with indigenous roots and therefore qualified to compete (Wasy Kolas 2006). To erase the resulting climate of mutual suspicion, TITV eventually amended the regulation to allow individual filmmakers to apply (Wasy Kolas 2006). According to the revised call, the scheme was open to all the citizens of Taiwan, but people who had indigenous roots would be having priority. Non-indigenous tenders would be considered if there were any unfilled vacancies. The selected proposals were awarded NT$800,000 (approximately US$27,000) each (TITV 2006).

The independent documentary gradually became a vital form for disseminating indigenous perspectives. In 2009, the Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation (IPCF) was established and funded by the CIP as a third party organisation to underpin the heritage of indigenous cultures and operate indigenous cultural media. IPCF worked together with PTS to produce television programmes for TITV. The essential aims of the IPCF including 'asserting the rights of self-expression for indigenous people (*yuanzhumin zhuti*) and ensuring their ability to access mass communication through the media and broadcast activities, to amend the negative and stereotypical impressions regarding indigenous peoples in mainstream society' (2013 IPCF; my translation). The documentary subsidy became a regular project, and was announced twice each year.

Overall, using documentary-making to train indigenous peoples to access public television medium was common in the early 2000s. Government resources promoted vigorous expression of indigenous identity through independent documentaries.

Hakka Television Station

Apart from TITV, Hakka Television Station (HTS) is another government-funded ethnic television service. It was established and funded by The Hakka Affairs Council (HAC) in 2003. I suggest that the establishment of HTS claimed the Hakka identity, which had been relatively ignored in mainstream Fukien

Taiwanese culture. The resources and relevant schemes that HTS launched also assisted the emergence of Hakka identity through independent documentary-making in the 2000s. Similar to TITV, HTS was a television channel service affiliated with an existing television station, Taiwan Television Enterprise, which produced and transmitted its programmes via satellite and cable television. After 2007, HTS was affiliated with the Taiwan Broadcasting System (TBS), and operated within the framework of the Public Television Service (PTS). The aims of the HTS were 'promoting the value of Hakka culture, securing the sustainability of Hakka language, claiming the right of using Hakka media, and developing international Hakka communication' (HTS 2013; my translation).

After the establishment of HTS, documentary production became an essential part of its work. The Hakka Image Production Workshop was launched in June 2003 after the establishment of HTS. The workshop was supported by HAC, and conducted by a commercial television station—Formosa TV. The workshop aimed to cultivate television production professionals using Hakka perspectives for the newly established HTS. The workshop was a six-month scheme. 29 participants made documentaries as their graduation work, and all were on Hakka issues (Sun Rong-Guang 2008: 13). In 2005, HTS launched a documentary series programme, *Hakka Viewpoint* (*Keguan*). 13 of the graduation documentaries from The Hakka Image Production Workshop were selected and shown on *Hakka Viewpoint*. In addition, HTS invited the participants in the workshop and offered them a budget to produce another 13 independent documentaries for *Hakka Viewpoint*. This made the programme a 26-episode series (ibid.). *Hakka Viewpoint* reveals the intention of HTS to use the medium to construct Hakka cultural identity.

HTS's aims were not limited to training television and film professionals to exercise their right to public access to media. Independent documentary-making was also a means for HTS to proclaim Hakka identities. In 2007, HTS launched a television programme, called '*1394 Daxilu*'. The title number *1394* was named after the standard digital transition format between digital camcorders and computers. *Daxilu* is a Hakka language term which means to use a connection to get opportunities for performing on the theatre stage. According to documents on the programme (HTS 2007), *1394 Daxilu* was open to public contributions (from all ethnic groups) of independent documentaries concerned with Hakka issues. The basic technical requirement was that they had to be digital productions. The

programme became a platform dedicated to independent documentary-making specifically for Hakka people and Hakka issues. Also, the documentaries had to be dubbed in the Hakka language. According to the 2011 call for entries 2011, *1394 Daxilu* claimed digital video made filmmaking open to everyone (*1394 Daxilu* 2011). By encouraging people to engage with independent documentary making, the concept of *1394 Daxilu* aimed to strengthen the Hakka people's identity.

1394 Daxilu's open database has 31 episodes as of the time of writing. This sample indicates that the entire series has been made by independent documentarians, both professional and amateur. Most were not up to professional technical standards. In addition, most of the filmmakers were not known from domestic documentary festivals or film awards. However, the perspectives, contents and themes were entirely relevant to Hakka issues in various aspects of life in Taiwan. For instance, the episodes included the landscapes in the Hakka region in episode 25, *Parallel Lines Through Dajia River* (*Chuanyue Dajiaxi de Pingxingxian*, 2010), made by Zhen Dong-Ren. There was work on the traditional Hakka cultures in episode 3, *Bamboo Pole Firework* (*Jugan Pao*, 2007) made by Wang Wen-Rei, and episode 22, *The Kitchen God* (*Zao Shen*, 2010) by Liao Shu-Pei and Xu Si-Qi). Episode 5 focused on the Hakka people's ethos in a documentary called *I am a Hakka from Puli* (*Wo Shi Puli Kejiaren*, 2007) by Cai Na-Wen and Shi Dai-Fei, and episode 27, *The Hard-Neck Phoenix* (*Ying Jing Fenghuang*, 2011) by Zhang Ru-Po and Hong Dong-Xiao. There were also personal memories in episode 4, *The Butterflies A-Po* (*Hudie A-Po*, 2007) made by Hong Qiong-Jun, and episode 18, *The Diary of My Military Service* (*Lu Zhen Lian Dangbin Ji*, 2009) made by Feng Zhi-Ren. This list of documentaries on to Hakka culture and society demonstrates that *1394 Daxilu* was not only intended to give opportunities to independent documentarians, but that it also worked to construct and disseminate Hakka identities to both Hakka and non-Hakka communities.

The Hakka Affairs Council (HAC) also exploited independent documentary-making as an instrument to express Hakka identities using another approach, the National Association Promotion the Community Universities (NAPCU) documentary workshop, which I will discuss in section 8.3.2. HAC supported a long-term and diverse scheme of NAPCU documentary-making workshops specifically for Hakka issues. NAPCU is a non-profit organization, dedicated to 'releasing academic knowledge to ordinary people and promoting the

advent of the civil society (NAPCU 2012; my translation)'. Through the branches of NAPCU, the Hakka Documentary Workshop (*Kejia Yingxiang Jilu Rencai Peixun*) has so far been launched annually in different places in Taiwan.

In conclusion, the establishment of HTS marked the use of the television medium to construct Hakka cultural identities. Also, in the mid-2000s, HTS assisted the emergence of Hakka independent documentary-making for this purpose. Together with the establishment of TITV, two government ethnic television services are now facilitating the development of independent documentary as a means to express identity.

8.3 Independent Documentary as a Way of Claiming Identity

In this section, based on interviews, independent documentaries, and documents, I will examine how independent documentary-making became a way of expressing identity for Taiwanese indigenous peoples, the Hakka people, foreign spouses, and foreign labourers, as well as the *waisheng* people. I will argue that, after the late 1990s, the complexity of ethnic and new migrant groups in Taiwan and independent documentary practice came together in the mid-2000s to make expression of identity the hallmark of this period. The different groups aimed to change from just being the filmed subject to doing the filming themselves and setting its terms of reference. Groups that have been marginalized or ignored by the mainstream society are able to use independent documentary-making not only to distinguish themselves from others, but also to see their issues being acknowledged by a much broader audience. Therefore, making independent documentary as to express of identity not only emerged among ethnic or immigrant groups of Taiwan, but also for other groups that were categorized by their social context. For instance, this includes *waisheng* people. As I will demonstrate in this section, they also made independent documentaries as amateurs from their own perspectives to express themselves and voice their concerns about their social position.

8.3.1 Indigenous Documentary

The indigenous peoples in Taiwan were early adopters of documentary as an instrument for capturing their indigenous social practices. They identified themselves through independent documentaries. In addition, the indigenous peoples also felt that they had been significantly harmed by image-based media in the past. In this section, I will examine the historical aspects of indigenous documentary-making in Taiwan, in order to demonstrate how it has changed. Also, I will analyze two indigenous documentarians, Mayaw Biho and Bauki Angaw, and how their independent documentary-making engages with ethnic identity.

Earlier, the notion of the 'indigenous documentary (y*uanzhumin jilupian*)' in Taiwan implied 'ethnographic film'. The Taiwanese indigenous people were the filmed subjects of documentaries, and the documentaries were made by anthropologist professionals using these disciplinary approaches. However, changes in production modes in indigenous film and documentary have led to new meanings of the term linking it to the tendency to expression of identity that appeared in independent documentaries in Taiwan in the 2000s in Taiwan.

According to previous research, documentaries related to Taiwanese indigenous issues emerged during the Japanese colonial period from 1895 to 1945 (see Chapter 4). The main purpose of the documentary then was to be educational, especially for indigenous tribes, to help them to understand the policy of the colonial government. The films also documented the circumstances of indigenous policy in Taiwan for the Japanese (Lee Daw-Ming 1994: 49). After the Kuomintang) government retreated to Taiwan from Mainland China in 1949, the authorities used documentary for propaganda. Documentaries related to indigenous issues were relatively rare compared with other issues. Between 1946 and 1983, newsreels and documentaries made by government-affiliated film studios related to indigenous issues numbered only 23 newsreels and two documentaries (ibid., 50). The indigenous peoples remained the filmed subjects of various television documentary series in the late 1970s and 1980s covering cultural aspects such as traditional costumes, music, and crafts. *Fragrant Formosa* (1975-1977) and *Image Journey* (*Yinxiang Zhi Lü*, 1981) are examples of such series that touched on indigenous issues. In addition, after being established in 1984, the Public Television Unit offered a budget to production studios for making television documentary series that could fill gaps in its broadcasting schedule. There were some productions on indigenous themes, for instance, *Spring in the Mountain Areas* (*Qingshan Chunxiao*, 1985), and *Journey into the Mountains* (*Gaoshan Zhi Lü*, 1986). However, apart from viewing indigenous issues with a sense of nostalgia, these television documentary series did not reflect the reality of indigenous society (ibid., 53).

At the same time, the indigenous young intellectuals who were born and raised in the city became aware of their right to have their own culture explained in more detail. They started to assert their ideas in the image-based media, such as television and film (ibid., 55). For instance, indigenous peoples started to disrupt

filming activities that did not respect their positions or failed to communicate with filmed subjects in advance.

Indigenous people also started to engage with the production of indigenous documentary in a co-coordination role. In 1993, the visual anthropologist Hu Tai-Li made the 16mm documentary *Voice of Orchid Island* (*Lanyu Guandian*). Orchid Island (Lanyu) is the main region for the Taiwanese indigenous Tao tribe (see Chapter 6). As a non-indigenous person, Hu Tai-Li argued that the indigenous people in the documentary should actually become part of the documentary production team. Therefore, she invited several Tao people to comment about how they would like to have a documentary that depicts their own culture and social issues. In addition, in 1994, Dimension Art Studio, hosted by Lee Daw-Ming, started to collaborate with indigenous intellectuals to make the documentary *Paiwanese Saguliu* (*Paiwan Ren Saguliu*, 1994) and the 26-episode PTS series on indigenous culture, *Tribes Forever* (*Yongyuan de Buluo*, 1994. The goal of Dimension Arts Studio was to make documentaries with indigenous intellectuals in order to foster enough professional filmmakers to create their own documentary films for indigenous people (Lee Daw-Ming 1994: 57).

The documentary workshops hosted by Full Shot Studio in the early 1990s also trained some independent, indigenous amateur documentarians (see Chapter 6). At the time, the workshops supported by the Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA) aimed to encourage documentary-making for community development (see Chapter 5) and to document local events to promote community consciousness. Indigenous participants acquired the techniques needed to make their own documentaries with home video cameras. For instance, between 1995 and 1998, there were four workshops that took place in various regions across Taiwan (Chen Liang-Feng 1998). The list of participants indicates some had, indigenous roots, especially in eastern areas where the population of indigenous peoples was more extensive. One third (6 out of 18) of the participants in the eastern workshop were indigenous (Chen Liang-Feng 1998: 71-4). In April 1998 and without any government support, Full Shot Studio initiated a documentary workshop on Lanyu (Orchid Island) especially for the Tao people who live there (Zeng Hong-Min 2004: 45). Through such types of documentary workshops, the indigenous people began to utilize documentary-making as an instrument to assert themselves.

The documentarian Bauki Angaw (Chinese name: Pan Chao-Cheng), who has Kebalan tribe roots, suggests that in terms of its history, Taiwanese indigenous documentary can be divided into three distinct periods: control by the authorities from1907 to 1985; alternative media against mainstream media from1986 to 1995an; and the advent of documentaries made by the indigenous peoples themselves from 1996 to 2001--- (Bauki Angaw 2001: 5). Bauki suggests that in the first period, the Taiwanese indigenous documentary was controlled by the Japanese colonial authority for propaganda. In the second period, the indigenous documentary became an alternative medium distinct from the mainstream media. However, most of the indigenous documentaries at this time were still made by non-indigenous people and focused on cultural issues. They did not participate in social and political issues concerning indigenous society, but were nonetheless an improvement compared to the past. In addition, at the end of the second term, more indigenous documentarians began to appear. This included Bauki Angaw himself and other amateur documentarians. The names Bauki listed were mostly participants in Full Shot Studio workshops. In the third period, Bauki notes that indigenous peoples finally began to make documentaries on their own. (Bauki Angaw 2001: 5-7). Moreover, Lin Wen-Ling also claims that in the 1990s, there were numerous trained indigenous filmmakers involved in documenting cultural and historical issues facing the tribes. Significantly, the production process and images used were different from before, when the representation of indigenous people was to show them as 'the other' (filmed subject), by 'outsiders' such as Fukien Taiwanese, Japanese, Dutch and Spaniards (Lin Wen-Ling 2001: 199).

The visual anthropologist Hu Tai-Li gave a broader definition of the Taiwanese indigenous documentary in her later research, after a substantial period of Taiwanese indigenous documentary development. She argues that ethnographic films related to Taiwanese indigenous issues—those with a complete concept of filmmaking and good quality post-production including editing, sound track adjustment and so on—began as early as the 1980s. And in the 1990s, the availability of digital equipment led to documentary-making by indigenous people (Hu Tai-Li 2006: 59). Therefore, Hu Tai-Li coined the term 'Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples' Ethnographic Film (*Taiwan Yuanzhumin Minzuzhi Yingpian*)'. She suggested that Taiwanese indigenous peoples' ethnographic films should include

not only documentaries with a conventional ethnographic film sense (as made by anthropology professionals), but the work of those documentarians (either indigenous or non-indigenous people) who made documentaries about indigenous themes and who were dedicated to relevant indigenous issues over the long term (Hu Tai-Li 2006: 59).

Overall, the concept and focus of the indigenous documentary in contemporary Taiwan is no longer just a matter of content, but also stresses documentary-making by indigenous peoples as part of a process of claiming social and cultural identity.

Indigenous Independent Documentarians

In this section, based on my interviews, database collections and independent documentaries, I will discuss two indigenous documentarians, Bauki Angaw and Mayaw Biho, who began their independent documentary-making careers in the 1990s. I will also analyse independent documentary-making on Lanyu (Orchid Island).

Bauki Angaw

Bauki Angaw is of Kebalan indigenous roots (Bauki Angaw 2012). The Kebalan tribe is one of the officially acknowledged indigenous tribes in Taiwan. Bauki is a significant example of a Taiwanese indigenous person who has dedicated his independent documentary work to building social and cultural identity. He was used to engaging with social issues as his background was as a documentary photographer. However, after encountering aspects of his indigenous heritage that he never knew before, he shifted his focus from social issues to identity.

According to my interview with Bauki (2012), he used to work as a stills photographer for the press, focusing on the margins of society and environmental protection issues, but not the specific concerns of the indigenous population. For instance, he participated in the documentary photography exhibition, *Alienator* (*Yi Xiang Ren*), in 1993. The exhibition was concerned with those veterans who had

retreated from mainland China to Taiwan with the KMT government. In 1993, he was surprised to meet his then-unknown relatives in an indigenous ceremony in Niaotazai, a small village in Yilan County. Originally, he only intended to photograph the ceremony. But there, it was revealed to Bauki Angaw for the very first time that he had indigenous roots. Bauki acknowledged that his knowledge of indigenous issues was weak, especially knowledge related to the Kebalan, his own clan. His unfamiliarity with his own indigenous roots was because his parents covered up the truth in an effort to avoid discrimination. However, the encounter with his unknown relatives led him to pour over his family tree and begin at last to recognize himself as a Kebalan indigenous person. In 1996, he participated in a training scheme for professional television production techniques that was organized by the Public Television Service (PTS). This programme was dedicated to indigenous peoples (see section 8.2). In the six months of training, Bauki learnt about indigenous culture, society and controversial issues affecting the people, expanding his knowledge of indigenous society greatly. He then commenced work for PTS as a reporter on the television programme *Indigenous News Magazine*, and made newsreels covering indigenous societies (Bauki Angaw 2012).

Bauki shifted his focus after completing his training. He understood that concerns around identity were not simply generated from within the communities alone, but also facilitated by the government. Therefore, the situation indicates a much larger transformation of Taiwan into a multi-cultural community rather than simply seeing itself as a Han-Chinese dominated nation. Independent documentary-making could assist to reveal the transformation.

The Gemalan People in Niaotashizai (*Niaotashizai de Gemalan*, 1998), Bauki Angaw's first documentary, showed him beginning to deploy documentary to express his indigenous cultural and social identity in terms of cultural and social aspects. Bauki Angaw argued that he wanted to make this documentary showing his

> 'own family's story to other indigenous peoples, who remain worried about being discriminated against on the basis of having indigenous roots, in order to encourage indigenous peoples to speak out bravely about their identity' (Bauki Angaw 2012; my translation).

In 1997, Bauki Angaw acquired a grant offered by The Cultural Foundation of The United Daily News Group (CFUDN) for independent documentary making. He commenced to make an independent documentary based on the story about his newly discovered indigenous relatives at Niaotashizai village in Yilan. He used the grant to buy a Sony VX-1000 digital video-camcorder, which became his main tool from then on. Bauki recalled that at the preview of his documentary *The Gemalan People in Niaotashizai*, most of the CFUDN committee members criticized the documentary's immature filmmaking techniques. However, one of them, Ray Jiing, head of the Graduate Institute of Sound and Image Studies in Documentary at the TNCA, argued that Bauki Angaw's documentary was the first documentary about Kebelan people that had been made by the Kebelan people themselves. Therefore, *The Gemalan People in Niaotashizai* should be looked at from a different perspective instead of concentrating on its technical defects. Ray Jiing's argument attracted Bauki Angaw at the time. As a result, Bauki decided to leave his PTS job and applied to the TNCA to study documentary-making as a profession. After entering TNCA, he dedicated himself to using documentary to revisit his indigenous heritage and cultural background, and also to justify the right to express himself as an indigenous subject (Bauki Angaw 2012). In this way, Bauki's narrative shows him beginning to wake up to the possibilities of documentary as a tool for identity construction.

The Gemalan People in Niaotashizai described his personal journey of exploring his own family tree. He unveiled his never-mentioned family history by interviewing his parents, and also relatives that he had never met before. It was revealed that the reason these indigenous family connections were buried for such a long time was the difficult circumstances and prejudice that indigenous people faced under the domination of Chinese-Taiwanese culture. Thus, the documentary became a form of justification for Bauki Angaw's personal identity and an assertion of his indigenous roots. His subsequent documentaries, such as *Jibeishua and Grandma Pingpu* (*Jibeishua yu Pingpu Ama*) (1999) and *Big Trouble: Should the Relatives Come or Not?* (*Daizhidatiao--- Fanqin yao lai mei*, 2001) followed with similar themes that also addressed identity.

Apart from making his own independent documentaries, Bauki Angaw engaged with other agendas related to Taiwanese indigenous documentary; he constantly argued for the rights of indigenous people to access the video medium.

The ‘honey peach grandma incident (*shuimitao ama shijian*)’ shows how Bauki believes that independent documentary plays an essential role in claiming indigenous identity. During the discussion of the incident, Bauki Angaw suggested that those who make documentaries related to indigenous issues should have certain indigenous qualities or backgrounds.

In 2007, a financial magazine *Business Weekly* invited independent documentarian Yang Li-Zhou to make a documentary, *Honey Peach Grandma*, as part of their social issue documentary series ‘One Taiwan, with Two Different Worlds’ (Cheng Zhang-Yu 2007). This documentary raised a debate about a non-indigenous documentarian filming indigenous people as the subjects of a documentary. Since 2003, *Business Weekly* has been choosing stories annually from their news coverage for ‘One Taiwan, Two Different Worlds’. The stories focused on issues from the margins of society and were intended to draw the attention of the magazine’s major readership, commercial entrepreneurs, to encourage them to make donations or other charitable contributions. Along with the coverage, the magazine produced an annual documentary. The documentary would then be released on television channels to attract the public’s attention. Every year, the magazine invited a different filmmaker to make the documentary, including up and coming independent documentarians. For instance, Lin Yu-Xian made *The Elephant Boy and Robot Girl* (2005) that depicted rare diseases and special needs young patients (Jiang Pei-Rong 2006). In 2007, independent documentarian Yang Li-Zhou was invited to make *Honey Peach Grandma* (2007). The documentary depicted an indigenous family in mountainous central Taiwan that experienced the suffering of lost family members, and revealed the reality of the indigenous community facing testing economic circumstances in society. In this documentary, the key character, ‘grandma’, described all the suffering she had experienced. Also, the children who had lost both their parents appeared in front of the camera.

After this documentary was broadcast on television, it attracted much public attention. However, indigenous lawmaker Gao Jin Su-Mei claimed that *Business Weekly* had taken advantage of the indigenous family in the documentary and solicited donations from the public. Originally the donations were meant for the family only, but they were accused of collecting donations for other charitable purposes to increase their own reputation. In addition, documentarian Yang Li-Zhou was accused of assisting this exploitative ‘crime’ through actually making the

documentary. Yang fought against the accusation quickly and vigorously. He wrote an article to clarify the behind-the-scenes story of making *Honey Peach Grandma.* He claimed that he always maintained a sense of social concern throughout his documentaries (Art Critique of Taiwan 2007). However, Bauki Angaw posted an article on an Internet blog questioning both the documentary and Yang Li-Zhou. In the article, Bauki argued that *Honey Peach Grandma* exploited the indigenous people, and exaggerated the suffering of the indigenous family to provoke public sympathy and solicit donations. It failed to analyse the core of indigenous issues, such as the status of indigenous peoples within modern society over the long term (Bauki Angaw 2007). Bauki argued that this documentary stigmatized indigenous peoples with negative stereotypes such as alcoholism and unemployment, and that it should stop being broadcast on television (Art Critique of Taiwan 2007).

According to Bauki's posted article and my interview with him, his key point was that Yang Li-Zhou did not immerse himself in indigenous issues or the social context for nearly enough time before he made *Honey Peach Grandma*. Although Yang Li-Zhou's prior work *My Football Summer* (2006) was related to indigenous issues, Yang Li-Zhou still lacked an indigenous perspective. What emerged from *Honey Peach Grandma* was a non-indigenous perspective with an uncomfortable mixing in of commercial interests. Therefore, the indigenous characters in the *Honey Peach Grandma* documentary were exploited by this problematic mechanism. Bauki Angaw admitted that all documentarians are subject to public criticism. However, I argue that Bauki Angaw's criticism of Yang Li-Zhou's perspective and Yang's absence of a previous indigenous connection revealed his attitude regarding what is essential in making documentaries addressing indigenous issues. Specifically, Bauki Angaw saw documentary-making as a means of indigenous self-expression.

In contrast, non-indigenous documentarian Cai Chong-Long wrote an article to support Yang Li-Zhou. Cai said that the Bauki's critique of Yang Li-Zhou seemed to 'sum up all (previous) exploitations of indigenous people by Han-Chinese documentarians' (Cai Chong-Long 2007: A13; my translation). However, Bauki stressed that he was not against non-indigenous documentarians who made documentaries about indigenous issues. On the contrary, he indicated that some non-indigenous documentarians could make better documentaries related to indigenous issues than indigenous persons themselves. The only thing he was

concerned with was the depth and viewpoints about indigenous issues within a given documentary (Bauki Angaw 2012). These debates showed that Bauki Angaw saw personal significance in the notion of implementing independent documentary-making as a means of expressing indigenous identity.

Mayaw Biho

Mayaw Biho is another example that shows how independent documentaries can be used for building indigenous cultural and political identity. Mayaw has Pangcha (Amis) roots He grew up in an indigenous clan in Hualien, east Taiwan (Mayaw Biho 2011). His father is Han-Chinese and his mother is Pangcha. His awareness of indigenous identity returned when he was doing his military service. The senior officer there treated people with a different attitude depending on their official rank. This experience connected to one of his personal experiences when he attended university as a student after finishing his military service. Once, he was invited to the home of a photographic society member. The person showed Mayaw some photos he took of a Taiwanese indigenous tribe, and explained how he used alcohol to trade with local indigenous people in order to take those photos. Mayaw felt uncomfortable about such a situation (Cai Chong-Long 2009: 19-20). And from this incident, Mayaw's discomfort evoked in him a new awareness of what it might mean to be an indigenous person.

Mayaw Biho began to make documentaries concerned with indigenous people when he majored in film production at Shih Hsin University in Taipei. The documentaries he finished during his undergraduate period were *Our Name is Chunri* (*Women de Mingzi Jiao Chunri*¸ 1997), *The Children in Heaven* (*Tiantang Xiaohai*, 1997), *Jilaheizi* (1997), and *The Life of the Pangcha* (*Ru Shi Shenghuo Ru Shi Pangcha*, 1998). These documentaries show that Mayaw has been concerned with indigenous issues from the start of his career. At that time, one of his university tutors in the encouraged him to make a documentary from his own perspective as an indigenous person, which he responded to. (Cai Chong-Long 2009: 20). After graduation, he worked for the television station Super TV as a journalist and documentary director for a while. Then he left his full time job and

established a studio, becoming an independent documentarian (Cai Chong-Long 2009: 19).

In my interview with Mayaw Biho (2011), he argues that each independent documentary he makes accomplishes a certain purpose. Moreover, although more and more indigenous peoples have learnt how to make documentaries, he can claim to be the only indigenous documentarian who justifies the rights of indigenous peoples by making documentaries involving controversial content. This affirmation reveals that Mayaw Biho sees the documentary as his instrument to campaign for indigenous welfare and social justice.

For instance, he argued that indigenous people should use their own indigenous names on official legislative documents (Mayaw Biho 2011). According to the 1995 version of Names Act (*Xingming Tiaoli*) (Ministry of the Interior 1995) in Taiwan, Taiwanese citizens could register their births by the name given in their indigenous language and translate its pronunciation into Chinese. However, the inconvenience of such administrative procedures drove most indigenous people to keep using their Chinese names for practical purposes. To promote his argument, Mayaw Biho made a series of independent documentaries such as *What is Your Name*? (*Qing Wen Fang Ming*, 2002), *Getting Back My Name* (*Ba Mingzi Zhao Huila*, 2004) and *What is Your 'Indigenous Name'*? (*Qing Wen 'Fan Ming'*, 2005). He toured these documentaries with discussion forums in universities and indigenous regions around Taiwan.

Also, in order to claim the rights to access traditional indigenous lands to perform traditional customs and ceremonies in mountain areas, he made *National Communist Bandits* (*Guojia Gongfei*, 2000). This film discussed how the authorities effectively annexed and occupied traditional indigenous hunting territories, such as national parks and natural reservations. Both the issue of indigenous traditional names and traditional lands are matters of identity.

Mayaw admitted that he had undergone a transformation since he started to make documentaries, accompanied by growing awareness of his own indigenous identity. For instance, when he made documentaries in university, such as *The Children in Heaven*, he wanted to make a good film with a sense of cinematic art. Thus, he was concerned about film aesthetics and used more dramatic elements to make the film. However, as his sense of indigenous identity grew, the desire to

convert documentary into an instrument to argue for indigenous issues slowly emerged as well (Mayaw Biho 2011).

I believe that this intention was revealed through way his own name appeared in his documentaries. Mayaw used his Chinese name 'Peng Shi-Sheng' on the first three documentaries that he made about indigenous issues. However, after he began to engage with the indigenous movement more by making independent documentaries, he used his indigenous name, 'Mayaw Biho', on all of his works. Mayaw agreed that making *The Life of Pangcha* led him to immerse himself in his tribe in Hualien, eastern Taiwan. This immersion involved periods of focus on tradition and a general stimulation of his thinking about indigenous identity, causing him to come up with the idea of making the documentary as a form of revealing his own identity. He indicated that his previous documentaries were related with the beauty of indigenous culture, but after *The Life of Pangcha*, he began deliberately to use documentary to claim and discuss his indigenous social and political (Mayaw Biho 2011). Thus, the topics within the documentaries that Mayaw made began to change by addressing more controversial social and political issues concerning the indigenous community.

Mayaw received grants from many of his previous documentary works, such as *The Children in Heaven*. After he began to change his documentaries, Mayaw said that it became relatively difficult to obtain funding, because controversial issues were deemed unacceptable by the authorities (Mayaw Biho 2011). In the interview, Mayaw Biho indicated that after he graduated from university and began working for a television channel as a director for the television documentary series *Confession of Life*, (Super TV; 1997-1998) for six years, he learnt how to tackle social issues via documentary production in a relatively efficient mode. At the same time, he thought his works tended to have less artistic sensibility in terms of his filmmaking training. He made a series of documentaries related to indigenous issues until the programme was cancelled for commercial reasons. He launched his new career as an independent documentarian afterwards. To make documentaries independently, Mayaw Biho looked for funding. Because of the controversial content and dominance of subjects concerning indigenous peoples in his documentaries, Mayaw said it was difficult to get any budget at all from governmental organizations, even the National Foundation of Culture and Arts (NFCA) and the Public Television Service (PTS).

Therefore, he tried to cooperate with some other non-profit organizations. But most of the time, he used his own personal funds. In the interview, Mayaw said that after his documentaries became more outspoken and therefore unacceptable for some public broadcasting organisations, he started to find alternative opportunities to show his works via lectures in schools and educational institutions (Mayaw Biho 2011).

In addition to Mayaw Biho's own personal attitude towards documentaries and their role in claiming indigenous identities, his dispute over the candidate for the head of the newly established Indigenous Television station further underlined his perspective. In 2006, the newly established Indigenous Television (ITV) channel chose Yu Kan-Ping, a veteran feature film director and maker of a few documentaries related to indigenous culture, as candidate for head of the station. Yu Kan-Ping's non-indigenous background led to some disputes (Wasy Kolas 2006), and Mayaw Biho was one of the people who fought against his candidature. According to the interview, Mayaw's reason was that a television station dedicated to indigenous peoples should be run by an indigenous person if at all possible. He noted that, initially, the reality was that among the Taiwanese indigenous peoples, there were not enough professionals familiar with video, media, and television production. However, indigenous peoples could learn by interning and being trained to be video and television professionals. Therefore, in the future, television stations could be entirely run by indigenous persons. Mayaw Biho suspected that if the head of the newly established television station remained a Han-Chinese, it would be difficult to move in this direction (Mayaw Biho 2011). In addition, in an interview, Mayaw argued that the indigenous documentaries made by Yu Kan-Ping displayed problematic attitudes. Mayaw indicated that, on the surface, Yu Kan-Ping seemed to have various connections with the indigenous community in general and had been active amongst indigenous tribes as a film director for the past twenty years. However, Mayaw said that a deeper look revealed that Yu's limited works related to the indigenous community did not display an appropriate attitude in the way that they interpreted indigenous culture and society. For instance, in *The Faces of Tribes* (*Buluo de Rongyan*), a PTS television documentary series in 2003 directed by Yu Kan-Ping, Mayaw Biho claimed that Yu depicted himself as a 'great Jesus' coming to rescue the indigenous people; a 'saviour' attitude that made the indigenous people feel uncomfortable (Cai Chong-Long 2009: 27).

In 2011, Mayaw Biho campaigned to be elected as an indigenous representative lawmaker so that he could better demonstrate his arguments. However, he failed to win that election in 2012. Afterwards, Mayaw was invited to take up a place as the head of the ethnic affairs commission (*minzu shiwu weiyuanhui*) of Tainan City in south Taiwan in March 2012.

Independent Documentary on Lanyu

Apart from the independent indigenous documentarians in mainland Taiwan, there is another instance demonstrating changes in the indigenous documentary. Conventionally, indigenous documentaries have perceived indigenous persons as the filmed subject. Now, indigenous people are actively making documentaries themselves. Documentary-making on Lanyu (Orchid Island) is an example of an independent documentary practice of claiming identity.

The majority of Lanyu residents are Tao (Yami) people. The isolated environment and its historical connection with the indigenous tribes from the Northern Philippines has made Lanyu rich in cultural heritage. Lanyu's particular Tao indigenous culture defined it and it was seen as an anthropological treasure in the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945) (Tsai Yu-Yueh 2007: 17). After the KMT government retreated to Taiwan, Lanyu remained closed to public-access under restrictions as an indigenous reservation. It was not opened up until the 1970s, when the restriction eventually ended (Zeng Hong-Min 2004: 20). Due to these historical reasons as well as their geographical isolation, the Tao people lived in a relatively undisturbed and unchanged situation without interference from modern civilization. Lanyu is culturally and ethnically distinct from mainland Taiwan's Han-Chinese dominant culture. Therefore, anthropologists and other scholars particularly noticed Lanyu, and it served as a productive area for frequent academic research. Eventually, it also became a tourist attraction as a recreational tropical island after it became open to the public.

Under the circumstances mentioned above, the Tao people have been documented with still photos and films from the Japanese colonial period until the present. Originally the images were taken for academic research, and in the contemporary era for tourism. However, those images about the Tao have been

accumulated mainly from an outsider's point of view (Zeng Hong-Min 2004: 23-6). The outsider's viewpoint misled the mainlanders in Taiwan to believe that the Tao people were "uncivilized" and remained "savage", viewing the Tao people from a Han-Chinese colonialist perspective. Evidently, these circumstances have led to numerous problems since Lanyu opened up to public tourism from the 1960s.

However, after the 1990s, the digital home movie camera spread to Lanyu and to the documentary workshop hosted by Full Shot Studio on Lanyu in April of 1998. Some Tao people soon started to document their own culture with digital video camcorders instead of leaving it to outsiders. Some Tao people also learned to make documentaries independently with home movie cameras (Zeng Hong-Min 2004: 28-9). Independent documentary-making became an instrument for the Tao people to reclaim their identity from the outsider's colonial point of view; the Tao people started to interpret their own culture and society via their own independent documentaries.

Chang Shu-Lan's documentary *Against the Devil* (*Miandui Eling*, 2001) is a key example. Chang has Tao roots, and was a nurse working in the public health care centre on Lanyu. I made a documentary called *Si Manirei* (1999) regarding Chang Shu-Lan's work and the process of making her later documentary *Against the Devil*. According to an interview I conducted while making the film (1999) originally, she planned to make a documentary locally for training purposes. She wanted to train the volunteers of the centre and patients' families and inform them on how to take care of the patients at home. Chang used her own Video 8 home movie camera to film her working processes and patients as she worked in different patients' houses. According to Chang Shu-Lan's personal account, the conventional concepts in her clan considered older people to be less valuable due to their lesser economic contributions to the tribe. Therefore, most of the older people, whether healthy or not, would live apart from their relatives in relatively poor conditions. In addition, traditionally, an illness was always seen as a kind of haunting evil spirit. As a trained medical professional, influenced by the novel phenomenon of independent documentary-making that had emerged in mainland Taiwan in the 1990s, Chang Shu-Lan decided to change this conventional taboo by making the independent-documentary, *Against the Devil.*

With the help of non-indigenous amateur independent documentarians who worked on Lanyu, such as Huang Qi-Mo, who made *The Food of Afternoon*

(*Xiawufan de Cai*, 1996), and who was working in the Lanyu Weather Station as a weatherman then, Chang wrote a proposal for a documentary and won a grant from the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF), which had supporting independent documentary-making as a key objective at the time (see Chapter 7). Chang obtained NT$550,000 (approximately. US$19,000) to make the documentary. She used the grant to buy a Sony VX-1000 digital video-camcorder and upgraded her computer facilities for editing (Chang Shu-Lan 1999).

Interestingly, the concept and content of *Against the Devil* was unacceptable to both the Han-Chinese and Tao peoples (Zeng Hong-Min 2004: 41). In terms of the traditional customs of Han-Chinese society, respecting elders and taking care of them, especially during illnesses, were considered virtues in every sense. Thus the concept and behaviour that Tao people conventionally adopted towards their elders was seen as unacceptable. When the documentary was screened in mainland Taiwan, it raised numerous misunderstandings and questions regarding Tao customs by some non-Tao audiences (Zeng Hong-Min 2007). On the other side, Tao culture, traditionally, perceived the metaphor of illness and death as a reference to the spirit of evil. The documentary introduced the idea of taking care of ill and aging people, which unconsciously challenged the local audience on Lanyu (ibid.). However, regardless of the conflicts between traditional culture and modern society concerning the Tao people on Lanyu, I suggest that *Against the Devil* revealed the viewpoints of the Tao people and their traditions, in contrast to the earlier tendency for such matters to be discussed or interpreted from outsider perspectives by anthropologists or sociologists.

8.3.2 Hakka Documentary

Hakka documentaries were different from the efforts of documentarians who had indigenous roots and made documentaries to claim their cultural and social identity or allied themselves with indigenous social movements. Instead, Hakka people deployed independent documentary-making as a means to re-define their own Hakka cultural identity, but without the sense of a social movement.

Hakka people do not face the same level of ethnic prejudice as indigenous peoples, due to their Han-Chinese ethnicity. Therefore, Hakka people aimed to make independent documentary as a means to distinguish their unique culture that was obscured within other ethnic groups in Taiwan. In other words, for the Hakka, it is about trying to create an image which had been rarely captured before by independent documentary-making.

Generally speaking, there was no specific definition of the term Hakka Documentary (*Kejia Jilupian*) in Taiwan at the time. A scholar who engaged with Hakka-related research claimed that a Hakka documentary should fulfill the following criteria: either the documentary uses Hakka language for a certain percentage of the narration or the Hakka language was used by filmed subjects; or, the filmed subject belongs to the Hakka people or related themes such as Hakka culture, history, and society (Sun Rong-Guang 2008: 14). In the 1960s, the authorities implemented the National Language Promotion Policy (*Tuixing Guoyu Zhengce*), to promote Mandarin Chinese as Taiwan's standard national language. In turn, the authorities at the time limited the use of existing dialects, such as Minnan (so-called Taiwanese) dialect, indigenous languages and also the Hakka dialect. As a result, the authorities controlled the use of dialects that were broadcast on television and radio programmes. This led to a decrease in the use of different dialects, and caused the gradual decline of dialects (Liu Hua-Zong 2005). In addition, due to commercial competition, television and radio programmes in the Hakka language were less welcome compared with the Minnan dialect (Liu Hua-Zong 2005). Furthermore, the mainstream media distorted and stereotyped the Hakka (Sun Rong-Guang 2008: 14). The problematic issues related to Hakka identity resulting from the misleading media representations led to the launch of the Hakka Television Service (HTS) after the establishment of the Hakka Affairs Council (HAC) in 2001.

The launch of the Hakka Television Service facilitated independent documentary-making by Hakka people claiming their right to access the video medium and define themselves from their own cultural and social perspective. They did so through both professional and amateur independent documentary productions.

In this section, I will analyse two Hakka independent documentarians, Wu Ping-Hai and Han Bi-Feng. I will also analyze a Hakka documentary workshop

conducted by the National Association for Promotion of the Community Universities (NAPCU). Han Bi-Feng organized a society in Taitung, eastern Taiwan, that gathered groups of local people dedicated to documenting Hakka culture and the landscapes that were shaped by Hakka people in the region. In addition, with support from the HAC, the NAPCU hosted documentary-making workshops around Taiwan.

Wu Ping-Hai

Independent documentarian Wu Ping-Hai has Hakka roots and was born in Meinong, Kaohsiung County, one of the traditional Hakka regions in southern Taiwan. The majority of the population in this township and its neighbourhood is comprised of Hakka people. He has made several well-known independent documentary works around Hakka themes, for instance, *Xieting and Her Songs* (*Xieting yu Ta de Ge*, 2003), *The Home Far Away Overseas* (*Piao Yang Guo Hai de Jia,* 2005), and *The Hakka People on the Tropic* (*Huiguixian Shang de Kejiaren*, 2006). According to my interview with Wu (2011), his motivation for making independent documentaries concerning Hakka issues was not initially to express his own Hakka identity. Instead, his sense of his own Hakka identity was gradually accumulated through the process of his independent documentary-making. He began wrestling with Hakka issues after he finished his professional television training and began participating in Hakka Television's workshop in 2003. He was a participant in the first HTS workshop. After finishing training, supported by HTS, he made a documentary *The Home Far Away Overseas*, and collaborated with his workshop colleagues on another three documentaries for the television documentary series *Hakka Viewpoint* (*Keguan*) (see section 8.2.2). He was granted NT$120,000 for each episode (approximately US$4,000), and invested in home computer editing facilities and his first video camcorder, a Sony PD-150. Possessing this equipment allowed him to continue documentary-making independently. In addition, Wu Ping-Hai and other workshop participants established a non-profit society, the Taiwan Hakka Sound and Image Society (THSIS) (Wu Ping-Hai 2011).

Wu Ping-Hai moved to Chayi in 2002, which is not a traditional region of the Hakka population. As an independent documentarian, Wu indicated, he did not define himself narrowly as a 'Hakka documentarian'. He perceived himself as an independent documentarian who has Hakka roots but was open to any sort of issues and themes that may be relevant for documentary making. However, when he made *The Hakka People on the Tropic* in Chayi, he woke up to the idea that independent documentary-making could be a way of differentiating Hakka identity (which meant his own cultural identity). In 2006, Wu responded to the HTS call for documentary project proposals and *The Hakka People on the Tropic*. He made this film after noticing an item in the local newspaper that mentioned a Hakka cultural society had been established in Chayi City. Wu had just found out that the Hakka population existed in Chayi. Originally, he thought the place was not related to Hakka culture at all (Wu Ping-Hai 2011). Thus, Wu utilized independent documentary-making to spotlight the hitherto overlooked Hakka people, culture and society of Chayi.

The documentaries *Water Flows Over the Mountain Top* and *Benji Lake, Cross Road* reveal Wu Ping-Hai's ideas about documentary-making and his perspective as a Hakka person. Instead of highlighting Hakka identity through ethnic aspects, Wu Ping-Hai instead constructed his Hakka identity as a means of showing distinct personal perspectives with Hakka sensibilities. In 2009, he began a project, supported by HTS, to make the documentaries *Water Flows Over the Mountain Top* (*Shui Guo Shan Dongding*, 2010) and *Benji Lake, Cross Road* (*Benjihu, Shizilu*, 2010). These were two episodes of the television documentary series *Going through 8 August*, which consisted of a total of six episodes regarding the aftermath in the Hakka regions from the Morakot typhoon disaster that happened on 8 August 2009 in southern Taiwan). As a television channel dedicated to Hakka culture and society, HTS documentaries required people who had Hakka roots to be the filmed subjects appearing in the film. However, the locations where Wu Ping-Hai was located were not conventional Hakka regions. Hence, it was relatively difficult to find subjects who had Hakka roots. In order to fulfill the HTS requirement, Wu explained that he himself is a Hakka person. Thus, through his perspective, the documentaries contained viewpoints that represented Hakka people's perspectives about the aftermath of the typhoon. Nevertheless, the explanation was not accepted by HTS. Eventually, to satisfy HTS, Wu found two

local females who had Hakka roots and were married in locations in other conventional Hakka regions.

Taitung Hakka Community Documentary Centre

The Taitung Hakka Community Documentary Centre (THCDC) was proposed by an amateur documentarian named Han Bi-Feng. Han has Hakka roots, and is connected with the notion of Community Development (*Shequ Yingzao*) (please see Chapter 5 for more details on Community Development). He has also promoted the establishment of Taitung Hakka Community Video Centre, in Rehe in Taitung County, a traditional Hakka township in eastern Taiwan. Han Bi-Feng and the centre used independent documentary and the documentary workshops that they organized to build Hakka identity. The centre is in a Hakka region that has attracted a relatively significant population of Hakka migrants from other Hakka regions since the Japanese colonial period in the 1920s (Huang Xue-Tang & Huang Xuan-Wei 2010: 91).

Han Bi-Feng is a veteran who retired from the air force in the early 2000s. According to my interview with him (2011), before he retired, he was interested in video filmmaking as an amateur hobby and owned his private video making facilities. He had planned to run a small business on retirement. As a side job besides his pension, he operated a local video production studio for events like wedding ceremonies and funerals in his hometown. He participated in an occupational training scheme in television production for veterans for six months prior to his retirement. Then he retired officially and moved to Rehe, Taitung, which was his hometown. Before launching his own video business, HTS launched their first Hakka Image Production Workshop in 2003. Han decided to participate in the workshop immediately. Han Bi-Feng said that, although he has Hakka roots and thus qualified for workshop participation, he did not plan to use his skills to make documentaries on Hakka identity (although this issue was, in fact, one of the keynotes of the HTS). Han said that his intention was to refine his professional video making skills (Han Bi-Feng 2011).

After six months' of this full time training scheme, his original intention

changed. Two workshop lecturers, Peng Qi-Yuan and Yu Kan-Ping, encouraged him to do something 'different' with his video-making instead of merely recording ceremonies. They encouraged Han to begin making independent documentaries related to the Hakka issues that no one else was engaged with in his hometown and its surroundings in eastern Taiwan.

As the executive manager of his local community centre, Han Bi-Feng took advantage of his position by proposing a scheme that established a video centre to the Hakka Affairs Council (HAC) and the Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA). The proposal was approved, and THCDC was launched in 2007. Initially, the the centre was connected with the Community Development Policy. The aim of the centre was to document local culture and history through video images. But Han gradually transformed the centre into a local Hakka cultural cluster by hosting the documentary workshops (Han Bi-Feng 2011).

After 2008, Han Bi-Feng proposed a Hakka documentary workshop to HAC every year for three years (until 2011, the date of the interview). The proposal was approved and he was granted NT$250,000 (approximately US$8,000) each year. Combined with Community Development subsidies from the CCA, the centre invested in digital video making facilities, which included Sony HVR-A1N video camcorders and four computers (PC) with Avid video editing software . These facilities were offered to documentary workshop participants to make their works. The nearby high school, Rueyuan Junior High School, also supplied computers for the teaching facility. Han acknowledged that the concept of the documentary hosted by THCDC duplicated the workshop that he had participated in during 2003, which was hosted by HTS, but the scale was smaller (three days over six weeks, or four days over eight weeks) (Han Bi-Feng 2011).

According to the announcements for the workshop (2008, 2009 and 2011), it was open to citizens who lived in Taitung County (where the centre was located) and the neighbouring county of Hualien. The workshop was not limited to people with Hakka roots. The courses of the workshops were on approaches to documentary making, and the lectures were all related to Hakka aspects. For instance, the lectures were concerned with programmes on the HTS, or local independent researchers who investigated matters of Hakka history and culture. As a result, the outcome of the workshops was varied. According to the list of participants' final works in 2011, not all the films were related to Hakka issues

directly. The locations of filming were within the traditional Hakka regions. Furthermore, the films contained filmed subjects that could connect with Hakka issues, and also revealed the perspectives of Hakka culture and Hakka aspects in diverse ways. For instance, Zhuang Meng-Ping's *The New Residents of Lungtien* (*Lungtien Xin Zhumin*, 2011) depicted non-Hakka residents moving to Lungtien, a traditional Hakka township. The film showed their daily lives and how they connected to the locals.

Apart from organizing documentary workshops, Han Bi-Feng dedicated himself to making independent documentaries that were related to Hakka matters. His aim was to make documentaries that expressed Hakka identity and the intentions of HAC and HTS to support independent documentary-making were demonstrated by how Han Bi-Feng collaborated with the organizations and then went on to release his works. In the interview, Han mentioned himself that he was not keen on engaging with the 'mainstream' documentary societies in Taiwan (Han Bi-Feng 2011). This meant he did not have substantial connections with most of the other Taiwanese independent documentarians at the time, except for a limited number who were also dedicated to Hakka issues, such as Wu Ping-Hai. Also, this meant that Han's documentary works have never been entered into documentary competitions or film festivals. However, most of his documentary works have been broadcasted on HTS. The budget of his independent documentary-making was mostly supported by grants from HAC and HTS. Hence, understandably, HTS became his main platform for releasing his works. These include *Lungtien—A Changing Garden of the Butterflies* (*Longtien---Tuibian Zhong de Hudie Huayuan*, 2005), *The Legend of Fengyuan Irrigational Channel* (*Fengyunjun Chuanqi*, 2005), *Hakka in the Rear Mountian* (*Kejia zai Houshan*, 2006), and *The Man of the Eastern Railway* (*Dong Xian Tielu Ren*, 2010). All these documentaries related strongly to Hakka themes culturally and geographically.

Apart from the HAC and HTS documentary-making projects, Han Bi-Feng was also dedicated to making oral histories that documented Hakka historical and cultural issues in the local area. He intended to collect the interview data to establish a video and audio archive on Hakka culture and history in eastern Taiwan, and offer possibilities for the use of these video archives. In addition, he began to tackle non-Hakka issues that emerged in the local area, such as those concerning

the indigenous residents in traditional Hakka areas, and the policy of managing veterans' retirement in the location where Han himself currently lives (Han Bi-Feng 2011).

The NAPCU Image Education Unit

The documentary-making workshops hosted by the National Association for Promotion of the Community Universities (NAPCU), supported by the Hakka Affairs Council (HAC), is another example of independent documentary to express identity. In this section, I will examine the background of the documentary workshop, and analyse the primary documents of the workshop to demonstrate how independent documentary worked to build with Hakka social and cultural identity.

NAPCU is a non-governmental organization that was established in 1999. The aims of NAPCU are 'emancipation of knowledge (*zhishi jiefang*)' and 'facilitating civil society (*cu jin gongmin shehui*)'. NAPCU claims that knowledge shall be shared by everyone, every adult has the right to learn, and all people should have opportunities to go to college (NAPCU 2012). NAPCU conceived the concept of a 'community university' and promotes it to local government, to help it construct community universities as part of a continued learning network for adults. According to the primary collected data, in 2003, NAPCU launched the Image Education Unit (IEU), dedicated to achieving NAPCU's main goal of using documentary films as educational material. The headquarters of NAPCU is in Taipei, but the office of the IEU was in Tainan, southern Taiwan, since the IEU's establishment was related to the Graduate Institute of Sound and Image Studies in Documentary at TNCA (see Chapter 7). At that moment, both a board member of NAPCU, Lin Xiao-Xin, and lecturer Lin Bao-Yuan at TNCA, together with the founder of the documentary institute at TNCA, Ray Jing, proposed the concept of the IEU to the head of NAPCU. Engaging with the resources from TNCA and NAPCU, the UIE was launched in Tainan in 2003 and began to use independent documentaries to spread the knowledge and ideas of citizenship (Zeng Ye-Shen 2008).

According to primary documents and the lists of each terms' workshops

offered by the IEU from 2005 to 2012, at first, it was hosting independent documentary screenings and lectures around Taiwan. After 2005, the IEU also began to organize Hakka documentary workshops annually, except in 2008,until the workshops were suspended in 2012. The HAC funded the Hakka documentary workshops that were hosted by NAPCU. The calls for applications from 2005 to 2012 reveal that Hakka roots were not a required qualification for participation. The number of workshops that took place in collaboration with the IEU varied according to the budget from HAC and applications from different community universities each year. In addition to the workshops that were hosted by the community universities in Taipei such as Songshan Community University and Wenshan Community University, other workshops were held in the traditional Hakka areas in Taiwan. These included, for instance, the townships within Taoyuan County (Pinzhen and Yangmai Community Universities), Hsinchu County (Hsinchu and Zhubei Community Universities), and Miaoli County (Miaoli and Shanxian Community Universities).

In addition, the data shows that the programme of workshops followed NAPCU's terms for the course duration – Typically, it took 24 to 32 three-hour classes to complete a workshop. They took approaches to documentary-making as their method of training. The background of the lecturers was varied, including professional or freelance independent documentarians, lecturers in higher educational institutions, and previous participants. The participants made their documentaries either as a small group of two to four people, or individually. They home video cameras and edited on computers. The participants funded their own works. All finished works were screened publicly in the community universities. The screenings were hosted by the IEU and NAPCU. Some works were selected and shown on HTS as well. The number of community universities that joined the documentary-making workshop schemes, and the number of documentaries that were made by participants, are as follows (Number of Community Universities/ Number of Documentaries): 2005 (7/19), 2006 (7/26), 2007 (7/25), 2009 (8/32), 2010 (8/37), 2011/2012 (4/25)[22]. All the themes of the participants' documentaries were related to Hakka issues such as Hakka characters, Hakka society, traditional costume, Hakka landscape, and Hakka cuisine.

[22] The 2011 workshop was carried over to the next year (2012).

8.3.3 Foreign Labourers, Foreign Spouses and *Waisheng*

The migration of foreign spouses and foreign labourers that mainly came from Southeast Asia since 1980s for economic and social reasons, has become Taiwan society's latest factor transforming the documentary sector. In the 1990s, documentary productions engaged with issues regarding foreign spouses and foreign labourers. Examples include *Homesick Eyes* (*Wang Xiang*, 1997), a 35 mm documentary film directed by Xu Xiao-Ming; *Shattered Dream* (*Li Xiang Bei Jing Qu Dagong*, 2003), a 16mm documentary film directed by Lee Daw-Ming; *The Ox* (*Niu*, 2003), a Betacam video documentary made by Ke Neng-Yuan; and *Lesbian Factory* (*T Po Gongchang*, 2010), a digital video made by Chen Su-Xiang. All these independent documentaries were about foreign labourers from Southeast in Taiwan. The documentaries about foreign spouses from Southeast Asia include *Foreign Wives in Meinong* (*Waiji Xinniang zai Meinong*, 2003) made by Lin Xiao-Fang; *My Rehearsing Marriage* (*Er Xi*, 2003) made by Wen Zhi-Yi; *My Qiangnawei* (*Wo de Qiangnawei*, 2003); *Heizai Goes to Find a Wife* (*Heizai Tao Laopo*, 2003) made by Cai Chong-Long; and *The Home Far Away Overseas* (*Piaoyang Guohai de Jia*, 2005) made by Wu Ping-Hai. These independent documentaries depicted different experiences of these migrants from Southeast Asia and the difficulties they faced in their day-to-day lives as foreign spouses and labourers. They also revealed their struggles due to their social rights being ignored by the authorities and citizens in Taiwan.

Since the 1990s, independent documentaries looking at immigration have been made by documentarians who were Taiwanese citizens. Consequently, foreign spouses and foreign labourers were seen as the filmed subjects in the documentaries. However, after the mid-2000s, this kind of independent documentary changed. Through independent documentary-making, the immigrant spouses and foreign labourers aimed to counter existing images that related to their social reception by mainstream Taiwanese society. In this section, based on primary interview and collected data, I will examine the independent documentaries made by new arrivals who migrated to Taiwan after the 1980s to claim their rights and identity.

As I will demonstrate in this section, through workshops that were hosted by non-government organizations or via assistance from professional filmmakers, foreign spouses and labourers used the independent documentary to express their social commentary and justify their existence as residents of Taiwan, whether permanent or temporary. These films revealed different perspectives from the documentaries that saw them as 'filmed subjects'.

Let's Not Be Afraid (2010)

The independent documentary *Let's Not Be Afraid* was a collective creation by the members of the Trans-Asia Sisterhood Association of Taiwan (TASAT). TASAT was established in 2003 and was a non-government organization dedicated to foreign spouses migrating from Southeast Asia to Taiwan. TASAT originated from the concept of 'the Foreign Bride Chinese Literacy Programme (*Waiji Xinniang Shi Zi Ban*)', which assisted foreign spouses to learn Chinese, and was supported by local community universities (Hsia Hiao-Chuan 2007). According to an interview conducted in Mandarin Chinese with Yadrung Lasa (Chinese name: Qiu Yia-Qing) in 2011, she was a key member of TASAT and contributor to *Let's Not Be Afraid*. Her nationality was Thai originally, and she married a Taiwanese husband and moved to Taiwan in 1998. She joined the 'Foreign Bride Chinese Literacy Programme' in 2002 and remained with the organization and became a member of its staff. Yadrung Lasa said that the notion of making a documentary about foreign spouses from Southeast Asian countries emerged in their minds a very long term ago. Since the establishment of the Foreign Bride Chinese Literacy Programme in Taipei in 2002, the members of staff and volunteers frequently used home video cameras and digital cameras to document the process of the programme. Initially, they thought that these cameras were only for documenting the experiences and events of foreign spouses who participated in the programme. Specifically, they originally saw it as a way of merely recording memories, or offering educational material for other similar schemes in their own or other community universities afterwards. After some time, the accumulation of footage became quite substantial and so they realized that it could be developed further into

something more useful. In 2002, the association collaborated with documentarian Wu Ping-Hai to make the independent documentary *The Home Far Away Overseas* about Southeast Asian foreign spouses married into traditional Hakka regions in the countryside of southern Taiwan. The documentary depicted the establishment of the 'Foreign Bride Chinese Literacy Programme' in Meinong. That was the first time the association engaged with documentary-making to reveal their circumstances. Yadrung Lasa recalled that, at the moment Wu Ping-Hai made the documentary, the Chinese language capacity of the participants in the Foreign Bride Chinese Literacy Programme was still not sufficient even for basic communication. A lot of them still experienced difficult personal circumstances. Therefore, they naturally became the filmed subjects in the documentary and were considered from the viewpoint of the documentarian (Yadrung Lasa 2011). Thus, foreign spouses appeared as the filmed subject in that documentary.

TASAT expanded, as did the complexity of the issues regarding foreign spouses in contemporary Taiwan society. In September 2007, for the first time, over a thousand foreign spouses from Southeast Asia participated in a demonstration protesting at new discriminatory migration regulation. In 2007, the Ministry of the Interior proposed a new regulation of the Nationality Law, which was that foreign spouses who applied to be naturalized Taiwanese citizens needed to fulfill a minimum financial requirement. The regulation has been accused of being discriminatory to foreign spouses, especially those who came from relatively underdeveloped countries in Southeast Asia (Wong Cui-Ping 2007).

The staff of TASAT realized that this was a crucial event for foreign spouses and a cause for social justice; they saw that the situation was worth recording through the moving image. This was how TASAT initiated the notion of making their own documentaries independently (Xie Shi-Xuan 2010: 16). Hence, in 2008, the members of staff initiated a proposal to make a documentary using the footage that they already had. Yadrung Lasa said, at that moment, although they had used publications (including books and magazines) to persuade the public to consider issues around foreign spouses in Taiwan, they thought that the moving image would be a more powerful medium for most people. They

> "hoped that more people could be concerned with the issues regarding foreign spouses and migrants from Southeast Asia. We hoped to make

> Taiwan citizens realize that migrants could be discussed as a public issue, and an issue that needs to be respected as a significant part of Taiwanese society." (Yadrung Lasa 2011; my translation)

Therefore, they decided to make an independent documentary again. Initially, they invited the well-known Taiwan director Hou Hsiao-Hsien, who was concerned about the welfare of Southeast Asian foreign spouses in Taiwan and was a long-term supporter of TASAT. TASAT staff asked Hou to be the director for their planned documentary. They wished to offer the footage that TASAT had accumulated since their establishment as materials for Hou to make the documentary with. TASAT thought that Hou's prestige could gain more attention for the documentary. However, Hou declined and encouraged members of TASAT to make the documentary on their own. Hou suggested that if he edited the film it would be very different from a film they edited by themselves; the result might not fulfill what TASAT wanted because of their 'different eyes' (quoted from Yadrung Lasa 2011). In the beginning, TASAT members doubted their own capacity. Hou Hsiao-Hsien told them that they 'should contemplate what they really wanted to relate to the public and construct the documentary through their own perspectives (Yadrung Lasa 2011; my translation)'. In addition, Hou never gave them any samples or instructions. As a result, TASAT decided to make the documentary by themselves, with help from staff in Hou Hsiao-Hsien's studio for primary training on video making skills. TASAT put together a documentary-making team in order to learn digital video making and conceive the structure of the documentary. The documentary team had seven members; four of them were foreign spouses. As one of the key members of the documentary-making team, Yadrung Lasa was responsible for learning Premier computer editing software and led the discussion to conceive the narrative structure of the documentary. Yadrung Lasa recognized that the moving image was a relatively accessible form for migrant spouses compared with other forms of media (Yadrung Lasa 2011). Thus, documentary-making became a means through which foreign spouses could speak their thoughts directly, instead of merely being filmed as the filmed subject.

TASAT was offered a grant to make their documentary from The Foundation of Ethnic Harmony (FEH). TASAT bought a digital home video camera and invested in some computer facilities. Based on the footage that TASAT had

accumulated since 2002, and the new footage of interviews with foreign spouses by the documentary-making team, Yadrung Lasa and her team members began to construct and edit the documentary. They regularly had meetings and discussions about the narrative of the documentary. Sometimes, they watched documentaries relating to their stories made by non-immigrant directors as examples to follow. Yadrung Lasa said most of the documentaries that they saw were focused on the negative circumstances that foreign spouses faced after they married in Taiwan. But TASAT wanted to stress foreign spouses' story from a relatively positive angle. For instance, this would involve how the foreign spouses from Southeast Asian countries confronted the tough circumstances in their ordinary life such as looking for a job, their relationships with their husband's family, and discriminatory immigration laws in Taiwan). They wanted to reveal different perceptions of foreign spouses that contrasted with their stereotypical appearance or challenge existing representations of them. The intention to articulate an 'authentic' appearance and representation of foreign spouses from Southeast Asia to the audience made them decide to make a documentary instead of a fictional short film (which was also considered when they first decided to make a film for TASAT) (Yadrung Lasa 2011).

They took two years to edit and do the post-production. The documentary was finished in 2010. The forty-three minute long documentary *Let's Not be Afraid* was narrated in Mandarin Chinese dubbed by a Vietnamese spouse (Chinese name: Hong Jing-Zhi). Yadrung Lasa indicated that not only was the narration composed by them, but the Chinese captions in the documentary were also composed through their collective discussions. Therefore, she argued that their documentary was distinct from other documentaries made by professional documentarians, and *Let's Not Be Afraid* could represent their perspectives at TASAT entirely (Yadrung Lasa 2011). More importantly, the documentary aims to counter the existing images of foreign spouses in mainstream Taiwanese society.

TASAT released *Let's Not Be Afraid* independently by selling DVDs, and toured the video with lectures around Taiwan. Yadrung Lasa said that they designed a questionnaire to collect data from the audience. The collected data and the documentary became their training materials to further facilitate the development of TASAT afterwards. In addition, their experience of making documentaries independently soon developed into a new approach that promoted

their aims to call for equal rights for foreign spouses. An Internet-based news site, New Talk (*Xin Touke*; a homonym with 'new head' in Chinese), invited TASAT to contribute a series of video programmes called, *When Papaya Milk Meets Pearl Tea* (*Dang Yenai Yuxiang Zhennai*). The programme aimed to report issues about Southeast Asian foreign spouses. The entire series was proposed and produced by TASAT (Yadrung Lasa 2011).

Overall, the making of *Let's Not be Afraid* reveals the transformation of the filmed subject using independent documentary to create their own viewpoints and express their identity. In addition, documentary-making became a means of calling for social justice and for the rights of foreign spouses that came from Southeast Asia.

Foreign Labourers

As part of Taiwan's society, 'foreign labourers (*wailao*)' are a relatively invisible group. However, independent documentary-making has become a means for them to speak out for themselves. In this section, I will demonstrate how the foreign labourers in Taiwan engaged with independent documentary-making through analysing the short independent documentaries made by foreign labourers in Taiwan, *My Life* (2009) and *DVD for My Younger Sister* (2009), and compare the documentaries made by Taiwanese citizens with the same subject, to strengthen my arguments regarding the key characteristic of Taiwanese independent documentary in the 2000s.

The fixed-term contract foreign workforce from Southeast Asia (especially the male workforce), were mostly hired by the so-called '3D' occupations. '3D' refers to the Dangerous, Dirty and Difficult occupations. The female, foreign workforce participated in either domestic labour or labour-intensive manufacturing work, for instance, in electronics factories. They came to Taiwan as temporary residents, but due to the regulations and limitations on their working conditions, they were isolated from mainstream society. For instance, domestic carers were required to work long hours staying with the patient or the infant that they cared for. Also, for reasons of financial efficiency, when the number of foreign labourers reached a certain scale, labourers working at construction sites or labour intensive

manufacturing jobs were forced to live in centralised management dormitories offered by the employer or employment agency (Sun You-Lian 2012).

Isolation from mainstream society led to unfortunate misunderstandings and stereotypical perceptions of foreign blue-collar labourers by the majority of the public in Taiwan. In addition, unjust regulations concerning such workers led to problematic incidents. Once an incident happened, the mainstream media tended to simplify the complicated circumstances and conclude with a negative view of such foreign labour in society. For example, strict regulations had limited the rights of blue-collar foreign labourers to change their employers once the contract had been established (Lan Pei-Chia 2006: 56). Therefore, labourers who were reluctant to continue their contracted job could only either chose to return to their home country (with penalties and loans that they paid to the employment agencies for applying to work overseas), or escape from their prior position and become an 'escaped foreign labourer (*tao pao wailao*)' working for other employers illegally until they are investigated and deported (Wang, Zeng and Lan 2006: A11). Cases like 'escaped foreign labourers' led to a stereotypical view of blue-collar foreign labourers in the media. These media stories prevented the public from really understanding just what lay behind the foreign labourers' situations.

An incident that happened in Kaohsiung in 2005 reveals the media stereotype mentioned above. A protest occurred at a Kaohsiung metro rapid transit system (Kaohsiung MRT) construction site. Thai blue-collar foreign labourers prompted the public to review the management policy concerning blue-collar foreign labourers in Taiwan. According to the news coverage, the Kaohsiung MRT employed 1,717 Thai foreign workers to construct the MRT. They lived in dormitory camps with relatively poor conditions and centralized control by the management agent. For instance, the Thai workers could not leave the dormitory freely during their leisure time, and had limited rights to access electronic devices including listening to Thai radio and using their mobile phones to contact their families. Such unjust management policies led to a violent protest that occurred on a night in August. More than 300 people were involved in a protest about dormitory conditions. The Thai workers occupied the camp against the police force until the next day. The incident was seen as a violent riot without any in-depth analysis and the conduct of the workers was exaggerated (Gu Yu-Ling 2006).

The incident raised issues about inappropriate management and unjust conditions of the policy that regulated blue-collar foreign workers, especially those who came from Southeast Asian countries. Thus, this incident exposed the relatively invisible and stereotyped group, the blue-collar foreign workers, to greater public attention. And this was a group that had been part of Taiwan's society since the 1990s.

Documentaries related to foreign labourers in Taiwan started to appear in the late 1990s. These included, for instance, *Homesick Eyes*, and later*, Shattered Dream*, *The Ox*, and *Lesbian Factory*. These documentaries revealed different aspects of the lives of blue-collar foreign workers from the Philippines and Thailand, which were the main sources of foreign workers at the time. However, Taiwanese citizens made these documentaries mostly from the perspectives of social concern and sociology. The foreign workers in these documentaries became 'filmed subjects'. Although the documentaries were produced in the participatory mode (the approach to documentary-making where a filmmaker participates in the life of the filmed subject for a relatively long term), the perspectives of the documentary remained, nonetheless, from an outsider's viewpoint.

The documentaries about the issues of foreign workers that were made by the participants in documentary workshops organized by the Taiwan International Workers Association (TIWA) showed a different concept. These documentaries showed independent documentary-making being used by the foreign workers, like foreign spouses, to claim their identity. Through independent documentary-making, foreign workers tried hard to counter existing images created by mainstream Taiwanese society.

In 2009, the TIWA launched a documentary workshop dedicated to the foreign workers, especially domestic laborers and blue-collar workers in electronics manufacturing. The workshop taught the participants how to handle the home video camera to make short documentaries independently. The participants made these documentaries using their own budgets. Also, the participants used their own video-making facilities or those provided by TIWA. TIWA organized several screenings of the short documentaries that were made afterwards. Some of the screenings were complemented with panel discussions in cooperation with academic institutions (TIWA 2010). There were four short documentaries made by foreign workers: *My Life* (2009), 14 minutes, made by Boyet (Philippines); *DVD for My Younger Sister*

(2009), 9 minutes, made by Anie (Indonesia); *My Life in Taiwan* (2009), 9 minutes, made by Mia (Indonesia); and *The DVD of My Wedding Ceremony* (2009), 10 minutes, made by Tintin (Indonesia).

It is clear that these short documentaries that were made by foreign blue-collar and domestic workers did not really reach accepted professional standards: they were filmed with household digital camcorders, no tripod, poor sound quality, and very basic editing. These short documentaries have only been exhibited in events organised by TIWA, or released on open Internet platforms such as Youtube. They were closer to amateur films than professional works.

However, they were the documentaries made about the issues of foreign workers in Taiwan, and were also primarily made from the perspectives of foreign workers themselves. The workers who made these documentaries stressed the first person viewpoint to demonstrate their working and living conditions in their daily lives in Taiwan. Documentary-making gave them a way to express themselves as subjects in the film and therefore claim their identity as blue-collar foreign workers in Taiwan. For instance, *My Life*, was made by the Filipino man, Boyet, who worked in a small electronics parts manufacturing plant in Shulin, New Taipei City. He intended to show his daily life in Taiwan to his family in the Philippines. At the beginning of the documentary, Boyet himself appeared as the commentator explaining the reason why he went to Taiwan as a foreign worker, and what he expected to achieve after finishing his contract and going back to the Philippines. In the film, Boyet spends most of the time placing the video-camcorder aside to film himself while he is working and operating the machines. He would explain the situation to the video-camcorder sometimes, or explain the content of the image using captions. Some shots showed that he operated the video-camcorder by himself, producing a first person viewpoint. From this first-person perspective, he explains the details of the machines and the environment that he worked in, and offer explanations while he was filming on location in the factory. In addition, the documentary showed his dormitory and how he connected with his wife via the Internet in the evening after his working hours. Notably, in a section of the documentary, Boyet stressed that, in contrast to other blue-collar foreign workers, he spent his leisure time playing basketball with other Filipino workers in Taiwan. He expressed this contrast through a sequence of still photos. The section worked subtly against stereotypical impressions of blue-collar foreign workers in Taiwan.

These stereotypical impressions included negative aspects about their leisure time activities, such as gambling or excessive alcohol consumption.

Interestingly, in the same documentary-making workshop organized by TIWA in 2009, apart from four foreign-labour participants, there were two other participants who were Taiwanese. One of them, Gan Guan-Zhi, chose Boyet as his 'filmed subject' and made the short documentary (12 minutes) *Lost in Translation* (*Jugao Dou Caidao*, 2009). The documentary focused on the friendship between Gan Guan-Zhi himself and Boyet, his workmate. They met in a TIWA documentary-making workshop. The documentary was narrated by Gan Guan-Zhi in the first person. In *Lost in Translation,* Gan showed his curiosity about Boyet's life and working conditions from an outsider's perspective, and depicted his cheerfulness when visiting Boyet's dormitory and workplace. In addition, Gan showed his sincerity in making friends with a foreigner (Boyet). Comparing *My Life* and *Lost in Translation*, both documentaries engaged with the same character, Boyet, as a filmed subject. However, the documentaries made by Boyet himself and Gan Guan-Zhi were significantly different. In *My Life*, Boyet gazes at his personal life from his own perspective as the first person with an indifferent tone. On the contrary, in *Lost in Translation*, the film explores Boyet's living and working environments with an attitude of excitement. *Lost in Translation* reveals that the filmmaker sees Boyet as a 'gazed-upon subject' by 'the other' and interprets the subject from a filmmaker's perspective without contemplating Boyet's own viewpoint.

DVD for My Younger Sister was another example of a foreign worker who viewed her personal life in Taiwan through independent documentary. Contrasting this short documentary with *Return Home*, which is a documentary made by a Taiwanese looking at a domestic labourer, can reveal the difference of perspectives between the first person and the outsider. In *DVD for My Younger Sister*, Anie discussed from her own perspective how society received her. Anie came from Indonesia and moved to Taiwan as a domestic carer. She made this documentary to show her own circumstances in Taiwan for her younger sister, who would also go to Taiwan to work as a carer later. The documentary begins with Anie appearing as commentator. With the first person narrative in Indonesian, the documentary combines footage of Anie as a filmed subject participating in various activities such as a a birthday party and a singing contest, and was filmed by Anie herself. The

documentary introduces the places where Anie spent her leisure time in Taipei, the city where she worked. At the end of the documentary, Anie appears as the commentator again, advising her sister, who was going to work in Taiwan, that she should manage her earned salary properly. Anie claims herself to be a good exemple by contributing her income back to her family in Indonesia. The commentary indicated that Anie intended to clarify the facts around another issue: the perception that foreign workers were always financially irresponsible.

A Taiwanese participant, Huang Yi-Wan, also joined the documentary-making workshop and made a short documentary called *Return Home* (*Huijia*, 2009), 14 minutes. In *Return Home*, Hung Yi-Wan filmed his mother's domestic carer, an Indonesian woman named Anna. The documentary revealed the working conditions of foreign domestic workers through the documenting of Anna as the main character. However this was done without Anna's perspective. The film shows that Anna took care of Hung's ill mother at his mother's home in the rural countryside in Yilan County. Hung Yi-Wan narrated the documentary in the first person, depicting how Anna, the Indonesian domestic carer, arranged her life and work in Taiwan. The documentary showed that Huang situated himself as an employer and an observer to film Anna as the subject and how Anna interacted with his ill mother. In this short documentary, the filmed subject, Anna, who could not speak fluent Mandarin Chinese, became a character without her own voice in the documentary. Huang Yi-Wan interpreted the circumstances through his own commentary instead of interviewing Anna or obtaining her commentary.

Comparing *DVD for My Younger Sister* and *Return Home*, Anie in the first film interprets herself through her own voice and viewpoint as captured by the video-camcorder during the making of the documentary. Anie is no longer a filmed subject but a subject who represents herself as the main character in the documentary. Nevertheless, Anna in the second film remains a filmed subject and without her own viewpoint and voice, and was gazed upon and interpreted by 'the other'. In other words, Anna was depicted as an alienated character in the film. The rest of the work made by foreign workers in the workshop adopted similar approaches with the other documentaries discussed in previous paragraphs.

Waisheng Documentary

Apart from indigenous documentaries, Hakka documentaries and the documentaries made by foreign spouses and workers, there were other instances of documentary as a way of expressing identity. In this section, I will analyse the background of independent documentary-making initiated by *waisheng* people

Another group of Taiwan residents, the *waisheng* people who migrated from mainland China around 1949, also made documentaries to assert their identity. The so-called *waisheng* culture refers to the culture of people in Taiwan who had arrived from different provinces in China. The special background of *waisheng* immigration fashioned unique human landscapes around Taiwan. For instance, this includes the *juancun* (dependents' village). *Juancun* refers to the residential areas specifically allocated to immigrants, including military officers and government officers who retreated to Taiwan with the KMT government and their dependents and families. The *juancun* gathered together residents from different provinces in mainland China in various places around Taiwan. *Juancun* culture was significantly different from the cultures of the local Taiwanese indigenous, Fukien-Chinese, and Hakka cultures that had appeared in Taiwan many years before. However, in comparison to ethnic groups and migrations from outside Chinese, *waisheng* people and their culture were somewhat less distinct. As time went on, the *waisheng* group was diluted with other groups in Taiwan via various social factors including marriage. These realities were especially evident through the descendants of the *waisheng* people, the second generation, who were mostly born in Taiwan. In addition, most of the *juancun*s were abandoned and became ruins due to the original residents moving out or because of re-development schemes conducted by the authorities (Gao Dan-Hua 2006: 37-44). Therefore, independent documentary by the *waisheng* people was aimed to claim their identity.

In 2008 to 2010, the non-profit organization, the Waisheng-Taiwanese Association (*Waisheng Taiwan Ren Xiehui*, WTA) organized a documentary workshop for the *waisheng* group in Taiwan. The purpose was to make independent documentaries to document the fading *waisheng* culture. The workshops were supported by the Veterans Affairs Commission (VAC), the government unit that

was dedicated to the military and their dependents who retreated to Taiwan from Mainland China in 1949.

According to the collected documents regarding the workshops published by WTA in 2008, the workshop was launched and entitled '*Rong guang juan ying* (the glories of veterans and the memories of *juancun*)'. The workshop aimed to train participants to document the life stories of the *waisheng* people and their families. It also intended to document the transformation of *juancun* as a unique landscape in Taiwan before they vanished entirely. Although the original notice indicated that participant qualifications were not limited to the *waisheng* group, the workshop nonetheless encouraged attendees who were concerned with issues regarding the *waisheng* people and *juancun* culture. In addition, participants applying were only accepted if they included themes related to the *waisheng* people and *juancun* culture. The WTA hosted discussions for people who were interested in participating in the workshop in the very spaces where *waisheng* people resided and *juancun*. The duration of the programme was five months. There were 15 workshop places available. WTA organized three different classes around the country subsequently, between 2008 and 2010 (WTA 2102).

As a result, there were ten documentaries made by the participants in the northern documentary workshop. Participants made their documentaries independently with their own budgets and with their own home video cameras. Editing was done on participants' own computers or communal facilities provided by the programme. WTA organized travelling screenings after each of the workshops finished, in order to exhibit the documentaries (WTA 2012).

The themes of these films were all related to different aspects of *waisheng* people and *juancun* culture. Some involved personal memories, which was evident in *Variations* (*Bian Zou*, 2008) made by Lin Guo-Qin. The filmmaker depicted the relationships between three *waisheng* generations: the filmmaker himself, his father, and his son. The filmmaker compared their respective circumstances when each was 16 years old: the father moved to Taiwan as a KMT soldier; the filmmaker who had grown up in Taiwan was working through controversial Taiwanese and Chinese identity issues; and the son who was not aware of his identity in relation to Mainland China, the motherland of his grandfather. In contrast, other documentaries concerned the veterans, notably, Chen Xin-Yi's *Life as a Captive* (*Bei Fulu de Rensheng*, 2008). The documentary revealed the story of

Chen Shu-Yan, who was a communist soldier before. He was taken to Taiwan with the KMT soldiers as a captive. Then he kept the secret of his controversial past for sixty years until the documentary was made. Another example of a documentary concerning veterans is *Each Person, Nine Square Meters for Sixty Years* (*Yi Ren San Ping Liu Shi Nian*, 2008), made by Wang Mei-Zhen. The documentary depicted three veterans who left their families and relatives in Mainland China, and came to Taiwan with the KMT government in 1949. Due to relatively poor living conditions, they never got married in Taiwan, and lived alone in a dormitory for single people that was owned by the air force, where they also spent their retirement. In addition, some documentaries were related to the issue of *juancun* dependents' villages. For instance, *The Continuation* (*Yanxu*, 2008) was made by Li Gang-Ling. The documentary described the changes in the *juancun*'s living configuration before and after the authorities implemented their redevelopment schemes.

The documentaries made by the *waisheng* people indicate that independent documentary-making can be used as a means of claiming a specific cultural identity, especially in the case those who identified with a *waisheng* identity originally. The *waisheng* identity is a relatively abstract concept compared to the ethnic groups such as indigenous peoples and Hakka people, or foreign workers and spouses (who can be identified by their original nationalities). However, independent documentary-making became a means for the *waisheng* people to claim their identity, too.

To conclude, independent documentary-making after the 2000s in Taiwan has become a means for expressing social and cultural identity. The conventional filmed subjects and marginal groups, such as indigenous peoples, foreign spouses and foreign workers, have been able to make independent documentaries to claim their equal rights and to assert their right to interpret their own culture.

Chapter 9:
Conclusion—A Historical Perspective on the Taiwanese Independent Documentary

Since the 1990s, the Taiwanese documentary has become dominated by independent modes of production. In this thesis, I have argued for the importance of seeing the Taiwanese independent documentary as an integrated mechanism of society. Specifically, I have argued that researching the development of these independent documentaries a) reveals its relationships with society in Taiwan and b) reflects the independent documentary's changes and varying characteristics across historical periods. In this concluding chapter, I summarize my research findings, and explain the overall contributions of my thesis. This chapter also provides a broader context for my research, considering the implications of my findings for the practices of documentary filmmaking in Taiwan, and for future studies of the Taiwanese documentary. In addition, I will suggest potential future research that can follow from the work that I have done in this thesis.

My thesis' primary aims have been to construct a historical perspective on the Taiwanese independent documentary that not only demonstrates its development and shifting circumstances across different periods, but also analyses its changing characteristics. To do this, I have used film historiography as my research method (see Chapter 3), and have also constructed a film history by arranging 'filmic evidence' to chronologically support my thesis arguments. I have argued that, beyond its definition in terms of mode of production, there is no single, definitive characteristic of the Taiwanese independent documentary such as a particular kind of engagement in society or cinematic style. Significantly, its changing textual and social characteristics have been influenced by the shifting social-political circumstances throughout Taiwan's different historical periods. Therefore, my thesis constructs a historical perspective on the Taiwanese independent documentary, and examines its varying characteristics. Seeing the

Taiwanese independent documentary through its many shifting forms draws a clearer picture of its development. This section details the achievements of my research and indicates my contributions to Taiwanese documentary studies.

Furthermore, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, the contributions of my research include: a) examining the transformations of the independent documentary through Taiwan's history using primary materials and new interpretations of existing materials, and b) providing detail about the Taiwanese independent documentary's changing characteristics relation to society. Specifically, I analyze the relationship between its characteristics and different social-political backgrounds across different time periods. Historical perspectives on the Taiwanese independent documentary have not been adequately discussed before (see Chapter 2). Consequently, my research provides a fundamental, empirically-grounded foundation for further research to build new understandings of the Taiwanese independent documentary. Apart from my contributions, some limitations of my research require further studies to address. For instance, to solidify my arguments and construct a history of the Taiwanese independent documentary, I have researched and presented substantial filmic evidence based on primary source materials and existing databases. Regrettably, due to the maximum length limitations of my thesis, some analyses of the individual independent documentary films have had to be left out, and must instead be left for future research. In the following sections, I will detail the key findings in each chapter, and suggest examples of future studies that can build from my thesis contributions.

Precursors

In Chapter 4, I analysed how amateur filmmaking had been scattered throughout Taiwan in the 1930s. This analysis began from my discussion of the first non-fiction film made in Taiwan by the Japanese in the early twentieth century, until the end of the Japanese colonial period in 1945. Then, I examined how, in terms of the mode of production, amateur non-fiction filmmaking occasionally emerged in Taiwan before 1945. I argued that such films were precursors to the independent documentary in Taiwan.

I discussed how existing research revealed that quite a few amateur filmmakers began filmmaking to practise film theory adopted from overseas, such as Liu Na-Ou and his interest in the 'Kino-eye'. These amateur filmmakers also used amateur film to become involved with and to record social-political events, as in the case of *The Public Funeral of Jiang Wei-Shui* (1931). However, I also discussed how insufficient archival material was available to connect amateur filmmaking with the emergence of documentary film in Taiwan. Chapter 4 begins to address this gap in the literature by examining documentary practice in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period. My findings also offer opportunities for future research that can build from my research.

Examining these precursors of the Taiwanese independent documentary during this period revealed another issue: whether non-fiction filmmaking led to the emergence of Taiwanese 'documentary film' as conceptualized by John Grierson (1933] and elaborated on by Paul Rotha 1935). In Chapter 4, I focused on the 1930s. I discussed cine-clubs and key individuals such as Liu Na-Ou and Deng Nan-Guang, who became involved in making non-fiction films. Conceptually, the films made by Liu Na-Ou and Deng Nan-Guang were considered private films—home movies or films meant for the members of amateur cine-clubs—as opposed to documentary films intended for public screenings. Nevertheless, I have argued that such films do qualify as independent non-fiction film, in terms of their mode of production. In particular, I have further argued that such amateur films can be seen as independent productions by virtue of their being produced outside of the state system and its media control. Importantly, I argued that the emergence of non-fiction films in 1930s Taiwan must be seen in relation to the development of documentary film in Western countries in their own contexts in the 1930s. Since a definition of the 'documentary' was still in the process of being formed in the West during the 1930s as well, the time juxtaposition raises questions about whether 1930s Taiwanese filmmakers and cine-club members were aware that they were making early forms of 'documentary film' or not. Notably, the techniques these Taiwanese filmmakers implemented were not as refined as subsequent works discussed as 'documentary film'. Nonetheless, these early non-fiction films in 1930s' Taiwan showed the feature of 'the creative treatment of actuality' that Grierson (1933) claims as a fundamental quality of the documentary film. Thus, the

comparison and contrast of early documentary film between Taiwan and the West is an issue that would also offer interesting directions for further research.

In Chapter 4, I have also discussed the case of *The Public Funeral of Jiang Wei-Shui* (1931), an independent non-fiction film in terms of its mode of production that was rediscovered in 2005. The documentary was made outside the control of the colonial government with intentions to publicly screen the funeral. In Chapter 4, I discussed how this film exemplified independent filmmakers' attempts to engage in political action by breaking the barriers of state media control. By analyzing the limited, existing archival material concerning *The Public Funeral of Jiang Wei-Shui,* I also argued that the film did not merely serve the purpose of documenting the funeral of the political figure, Jiang Wei-Shui. Instead, I argued that travelling, public film screenings of the funeral were indeed intended as vehicles to strengthen anti-colonialism. This film has certainly made an impact by demonstrating individual filmmaking initiatives outside of the state system, despite the film's official ban from public exhibition. Therefore, Chapter 4 argues that this film can also be seen as a *precursor* of independent documentary production in Taiwan due to its existence outside of the state system. However, I also discussed how such films echoed a traditional, documentary film production process where both the cameramen and editors were 'strictly descriptive and seldom creative' (Rotha 1935: 88). Despite the lack of creativity, the film's value in Taiwanese documentary history (as well as within this thesis) concerns its engagement with socio-political issues and resistance to state control. The question of whether *The Public Funeral of Jiang Wei-Shui* can be considered a proper documentary film or not remains an intriguing issue for future debate and research.

Emergence

As discussed in Chapter 2, a significant moment in clarifying the definition of the documentary film in Taiwan emerged from a controversial debate in 1985. To briefly reiterate this discussion, I argued that the debate arose because the jury members for the Golden Horse Award (*Jinma Jiang*) decided to refuse to select any of the nominated documentary films. The reason given involved the jury's complains that the filmmakers were not making 'authentic' documentary films. In

other words, the jury judged these films to be state propaganda or pedagogy. In response, the documentary in Taiwan began to engage established documentary practices already accepted in North America and Western Europe in the 1980s. In Chapter 5, I discussed how these films were the watershed productions that led to the emergence of the independent documentary in Taiwan.

As demonstrated in Chapter 5, the end of Japanese colonial rule did not lead to an immediate emergence of independent documentary production in Taiwan. Specifically, in the 1960s, the documentary *Liu Bi-Chia* and the short documentaries made by Zhuang Ling were exceptional examples of independent documentaries in terms of production mode. I further discussed the 1970s and how documentarian Zhang Zhao-Tang attempted to create an independent-style production within a state-controlled television station through the television documentary series *60 minutes* and his own works, and the television documentary series *Fragrances Formosa* as another significant instance. I continued by discussing the late 1980s, and argued that the end of Martial Law in Taiwan created new possibilities for Taiwanese independent documentary. In fact, the most significant feature of the independent documentary during this period was its use as an instrument opposing media control; the documentaries asserted the right to engage directly with political concerns. These developments, I further argued, led to the full emergence of the Taiwanese independent documentary after the late 1980s.

In this thesis, I have constructed an analysis of the Taiwanese independent documentary that has not been fully discussed in previous research. In Chapter 5, I argue that documentaries perceived as 'minority media' (see Chapter 2) were, in fact, forms of independent documentary. Specifically, I discussed how these documentaries served as an instrument that opposed government media control and became a vehicle of political action. I analysed the database of the Green Team's video documentaries and their mode of production. I conducted interviews with the members of the Green Team. All of these efforts assisted my interpretation and analysis of new and existing materials to demonstrate the distinguishing characteristics of the Taiwanese independent documentary in the late 1980s.

As Chapter 5 suggests, independent documentaries concerned with political issues and in resistance to state control faded in the early 1990s in Taiwan (Kuo Li-Hsin 2004). The documentaries shifted their focus to different social issues. I

briefly concluded that this shift occurred when media control loosened after martial law ended in the late 1980s, which allowed mainstream media to produce more documentaries that could more freely address political issues without state interference. Due to this development, the need for independent productions that could offer an opposing/alternative voice to the state faded and the focus shifted to social issues. However, the specific reasons for the shift of independent documentary's concern from the 'political' to the 'social' and its relationship to historical changes in Taiwan is worth exploring further.

Social Issues

In Chapter 6, I argued that the most significant characteristic of the Taiwanese independent documentary between the late 1980s and mid-1990s was its engagement with social issues. I discussed how previous research has ignored this period, merging it into other periods and ignoring its specificity. However, I believe it is a vital juncture for Taiwanese independent documentary filmmaking. This period existed in between a) the documentary as a political instrument that opposed state control in the late 1980s and b) the independent documentary as cinematic art form after the mid-1990s. Furthermore, Chapter 6 also discusses the strong links between the influential independent documentary group Full Shot Studio and the iconic *Ren Jian* magazine. I argued that both Full Shot Studio and *Ren Jian* exposed urgent social issues in Taiwanese society. In support of my arguments, I further analyzed primary source materials comprised of interviews with documentarians that demonstrate the links between the government Community Development Project (CDP), and the thriving production of independent documentaries in the mid-1990s. I discussed how, initially, the documentaries produced through the CDP were not recognized as 'independent documentaries' in the research literature. Instead, previous research defined works by the CDP as 'popular documentaries' (Chen Liang-Feng 1998). I have argued that the importance of this discussion concerns the CDP's production of independent documentaries that emphasize social issues as part of community development. The CDP was instrumental in the development of independent documentary filmmaking at the time, and in periods thereafter.

Moreover, I discussed how Full Shot Studio complemented *Ren Jian* magazine. Both focused on issues on the margins of society (that were ignored by mainstream television) and called for justice for the people they highlighted. The attention to various social issues by Full Shot Studio and other individual documentarians brought success and increased attention to independent documentaries in general. Full Shot Studio was seen as a vital example of a group that made documentaries collectively to address social issues. Again, I used interviews with documentary filmmakers as my primary source material and also examined their motivations to support my arguments

Chapter 6 also serves as an important foundation for future research about authorship in independent documentaries produced by single individuals and collective groups. Research concerned with authorship of such films has been lacking in Taiwan, even as independent documentaries have increasingly emerged as significant modes of documentary production itself. Specifically, future analyses in this area could connect the existing research about documentarians with their actual productions. Constructing a systematic study emphasizing the issue of 'authorship' of the Taiwanese independent documentary and the documentary (in general) would be productive. In addition, further in-depth research focusing on a discussion of documentary authorship in relation to the different historical periods (as I have argued throughout this thesis), can be developed in future projects.

Cinematic Art

In Chapter 7, I argued that after the mid-1990s to early 2000s, the most significant characteristic of the Taiwanese independent documentary was its production as a form of cinematic art. To address my arguments, I surveyed history and analyzed existing materials and databases. I also conducted interviews to understand more about the period's independent documentaries. I explored how independent documentary films became a 'substitute' for dramatic feature films due to a declining Taiwanese film industry after the mid-1990s. Creating cinematic art became a defining characteristic of the Taiwanese independent documentary in this period. My research in Chapter 7 explored the decline of Taiwan's film industry that led young generation filmmakers to seek new platforms to develop their

professional careers after the 1980s. I discussed how the new digital filmmaking facilities aided the emergence of the independent documentary phenomenon. I also detailed how such films were considered a relatively low-budget means of producing and creating cinematic artworks. I showed how young generations of filmmakers took advantage of these developments to make low-budget independent documentaries that could improve both their experience and status in filmmaking and the independent documentary. Such documentaries, I argued, were vital stepping-stones towards obtaining support for the production of their next film, whether a feature film or another documentary. In addition, with new digital facilities for film production, a single filmmaker could play multiple roles as director, cameraman and editor. I further argued that this 'individual' way of creating films became a novel mode of documentary production in Taiwan that made extremely low-budget productions possible. These opportunities especially helped young filmmakers who had few chances to gain any outside funds due to their limited experience. These developments were quite different from how the independent documentary was perceived, created, and produced in the 1980s or early 1990s, when independent documentaries were mostly produced by a collective such as the Green Team or Full Shot Studio (see Chapters 5 and 6). With access to digital facilities, individual production became the primary production mode of the Taiwanese independent documentary after the mid-1990s. Furthermore, I also discussed how these developments revealed a new concept of independent documentary production as cinematic art that was more personal and intimate than the films in previous historical periods. Future research could further explore the relative success of the independent documentary between the mid-1990s and early 2000s in Taiwan and how films were authored differently in contrast to previous historical periods. Future studies could also examine the presence of other group independent documentary productions between the mid-1990s and 2000s.

Chapter 7 also discussed a group of independent documentarians with compelling individual achievements—the alumni from the Graduate institute of Sound and Image Studies in documentary at Tainan National College of the Arts (TNCA). I discussed how each graduate from the TNCA created an independent documentary per year as a form of cinematic art. Whether this interesting phenomenon can be defined as a collective 'movement' is a topic worthy of further

consideration. There was no manifesto or official college goal that motivated graduates to create and produce documentaries as cinematic art. With their works of art, the graduates of the TNCA were vital in promoting a 'movement' of independent documentary filmmaking across Taiwan. I elaborated on this argument by highlighting key filmmakers. Specifically, I discussed their successful emergence as established and professional independent documentarians. For instance, I analysed Yang Li-Zhou, who became an important figure representing a rising, younger generation of Taiwanese independent documentarians. Yang's emergence and professional growth has seen him accumulate some significant documentary works. Yang exemplified the new wave of independent documentary production as forms of cinematic art. Future research could further build on my own research about Yang Li-Zhou and further explore his emergence, professional development, and historical legacy for the development of Taiwanese independent documentaries.

Another topic worth developing for further research could elaborate on the issues of financing and sponsorship for independent documentaries (see Chapter 7). This topic is an important issue, that I will briefly spend time contextualizing here. The main problem concerns how independent documentary productions have attracted public sector investments and funds from profit and non-profit organizations. The danger of such investments is that this support is given for promotion of specific interests and agendas. For instance, though filmmakers can be credited for creating independent documentaries, once they begin to rely on particular financial resources, the filmmaker's 'true' degree of 'independence' must be scrutinized. Such critiques must especially be raised of independent documentarians that have sought governmental and public television subsidies to examine whether the filmmaker's original, independent proposal might be edited or revised to appease demands for political correctness, for example.

This issue of independence can be brought into further perspective by briefly recalling my discussion of the different modes of production across various historical periods in Taiwan. In the 1980s, for example, the aim of independent documentaries involved subverting government controlled television stations. And in the 1990s, the independent documentary began further subverting the limitations of film and television, and thus became an alternative form of film creation. However, in the 2000s, the independent documentary began to lose its clear

difference as 'independent' due to its assimilation into mainstream media. Moreover, filmmakers became consumed with the game of seeking substantial financial support, especially from awards or subsidies issued by the government. Questions concerning how to get useful resources from a share of the government's annual budgets have become a major concern for most of the independent documentary filmmakers in Taiwan. To build their reputations, some documentarians even made documentaries concerning subjects that were specifically marketed to particular niches and audiences' tastes. Furthermore, other independent documentaries were supported by government money for the specific purpose of promoting government policy, and were little more than new forms of 'propaganda' (Lin Cong-Yu 2006: 88).

The problem of subsidies in independent documentary production concerns the contrasting agendas and tensions between (a) the independent documentarians' original objectives (b) their pragmatic need for subsidy and funding to support their creative visions, and (c) the specific agendas of governmental institutions concerning what sort of independent documentary is being developed, funded and produced. Liu Chang-De (2011) argues that the pragmatic issue of financial need concerns how public sector funds are actually substantial enough to help documentarians earn a professional livelihood by making documentaries. The problem, of course, is that possessing a relatively secure stream of funds from the public sector can tempt documentarians to lose their objectivity and creative integrity because of interference and control from the commissioning government body. Such positions could well have an impact on the documentarian's professional reputation (Liu Chang-De 2011: 80-81). Lin Cong-Yu (2006) further argues that public sector funds for documentary production actually reveal issues of power from government institutions (Lin Cong-Yu 2006: 88-90). Lin further argues that such government resources may re-create circumstances similar to those during the martial law period (1949 to 1987), where the difference between documentary and propaganda blurred and merged (ibid., 88-90).

The issues I have briefly contextualized here are indeed urgent and important ones that cannot be ignored. Unfortunately, these issues of finance, sponsorship, and power are problematics outside the primary aims of my thesis. Future research is needed to address these important topics.

Identity

In Chapter 8, I argued that during the 2000's, the characteristics of Taiwanese independent documentaries shifted to the pursuit of identity. Documentary filmmakers began to consider different minority groups in Taiwan. My research argued that individuals who were deprived of a 'voice' used the independent documentary. These individuals included those who were used to being the 'filmed subjects', and reported or documented as 'the other'. After the 2000's, these individuals found an opportunity to 'speak' through independent documentary. I discussed how these groups were filmed by the dominant, majority culture either in positive or negative ways. The films lacked discussion of the subject's feelings around the issues of social status or geographical location in Taiwan. Nonetheless, the subjects learned to utilize independent documentary-making as a means to depict and construct their own perspectives on themselves. Though the independent documentary continued to be used as an instrument concerned with social and political issues in this period, the purpose of engaging these issues differed from the documentaries in the late 1980s. In the 2000s, independent documentarians did not use their films to break through state media control. Instead, these new amateur, documentarians were groups or individuals concerned with expressing their identity.

Chapter 8 offers a number of examples to demonstrate my findings. For instance, I discussed how indigenous persons transitioned from being 'filmed subjects' to becoming the creators of their own films. They constructed indigenous viewpoints in their independent documentaries to distinguish themselves from the dominant Han-Chinese in Taiwanese society. In addition, Hakka people also reclaimed their own culture through independent documentary filmmaking.

In addition, I also discussed how foreign spouses and foreign labourers also began as filmed subjects, but later emerged as independent documentary filmmakers. These efforts allowed them to present a more representative view of themselves to the public. Foreign spouses and foreign labourers, therefore, made films that contrasted with the documentaries made by professional filmmakers. Specifically, their independent documentaries were self-empowering in their efforts to reclaim their cultural and social identities. In fact, the purpose to 'reclaim

identity' is the most significant characteristic of independent documentaries after the 2000s in Taiwan.

I discussed in my research how independent documentary films concerned with ethnic identity were actually supported by the authorities through bodies such as the Council of Indigenous Peoples and Hakka Affairs Council. To a certain degree, these government institutions produced films as a means to achieve their political intentions. The purposes for establishing these governmental organizations (including the television stations), I argued, was to distinguish the minority ethnic groups from the dominant ethnic group(s) in Taiwan. The issue once more concerns the financial problem of being offered subsidies and budgets from the state. Filmmakers reliant on these state funds risked losing their own, subjective voice due to state influence. Filmmakers may have themselves trying to please the authorities' policies and tastes, thereby failing to convey their own perspectives. Consequently, the problem of associating documentary film with propaganda resurfaces. Thus, this example further reveals how issues of state influence can persist through different historical periods, and continues to be an important issue requiring future research.

To conclude, my research offers a historical perspective on the Taiwanese independent documentary. I have constructed a foundation for research on the independent documentary in Taiwan. My research offers clarifications and definitions of the Taiwanese independent documentary, its characteristics, and the relationship between the historical changes within Taiwan's social and political contexts and the production of independent documentaries. Significantly, my thesis has argued for new ways of understanding the nature of the Taiwanese independent documentary, and contributes new debates, directions and discussions for documentarians, state authorities, and scholars.

Appendix I: List of Interviewees

Filmmaker / Name in Chinese / Location of Interview / Date of Interview

Bauki Angaw (Pan Chao-Cheng) / 木枝籠爻 (潘朝成) / Hualian County / 2 July 2012

Chen Shuo-Yi / 陳碩儀 / Tainan City / 12 August 2011

Dong Zhen-Liang / 董振良 / Xindian City, Taipei County / 9 September 2010

Han Bi-Feng / 韓筆鋒 / Reihe, Luye District, Taitung County /
26 August 2011, 16 July 2012

Ke Shu-Qing / 柯淑卿 / Kaohsiung City / 11 September 2010

Li Mong-Zhe / 李孟哲 / Guantian District, Tainan County / 27 August 2010

Li San-Chong / 李三沖 / Jialan, Taimali District, Taitung County / 2 September 2011

Lin Yu-Xian / 林育賢 / Taipei City / 25 July 2011; 14 February 2012

Mayaw Biho / 馬躍比吼 / Taipei City / 27 July 2011

Shen Ke-Shang / 沈可尚 / Taipei City / 27 July 2011

Wu Ping-Hai / 吳平海 / Jiayi City / 10 August 2011

Wu Yao-Dong / 吳耀東 / Taipei City / 26 July 2011

Yadrung Lasa / 柯雅菁 / Yonghe District, New Taipei City / 27 July 2011

Yang Li-Zhou / 楊力州 / Taipei City / 20 July 2011

Yu Yi-Feng / 吳乙峰 / Taipei City / 26 July 2011

Zhang Shu-Lan / 張淑蘭 / Dongqing, Lanyu (Orchid Island), Taitung County / April 1999

* All the locations of interview are in Taiwan.

Appendix II: Chinese-English Terms

1394 Daxilu 《1394 打戲路》

520 Incident (520 shijian) 520 事件

a process of practicing (*shijian*) 實踐

academic documentary (*xueyue jilupian*) 學院紀錄片

Adolescents 1998 青少年 1998

alternative medium (*linglei meiti*) 另類媒體

artistic treatment (*yishuxing chuli*) 藝術處理

Atayal 泰雅族

author (*zuozhe*) 作者

benshi (*bonimenteur*) 辯士

bian di fa sheng 邊地發聲

Bunun 布農族

Cable Television Law 有線電視法

case of Tang Ying-Shen (*Tang Ying-Shen shijian*) 湯英伸事件

China Evening Times 中時晚報

China Times 中國時報

cinema (*dianying*) 電影

Community Development Project (*shequ zongti yingzao*) 社區總體營造

concept of artistic creation (*chuangzuo*) 創作

consciousness of community (*shequ yishi*) 社區意識

consciousness of community (*shequ yishi*) 社區意識

counter mainstream medium (*fan zhuliu meiti*) 反主流媒體

Cultural Taiwan (*Wenhua Taiwan*) 文化臺灣

danggong (KMT party workers) 黨工

dangwai (outside the dominant party) 黨外

director (*daoyan*) 導演

disitai (fourth channel) 第四臺

documentary (*jilupian*) 紀錄片

Documentary Photography Training Scheme for Local Investigators (*difang jilusheying gongzuozhe xunlian jihua*) 地方紀錄攝影工作者訓練計畫

dominant system (*tizhi*) 體制

dramatisation (*xijuhua*) 戲劇化

Dudu Communication (*dudu chuanbuo*) 獨獨傳播

emancipation of knowledge (*zhishi jiefang*) 知識解放

escaping foreign laborer (*tao pao wailao*) 逃跑外勞

facilitating civil society (*cu jin gongmin shehui*) 促進公民社會

Firefly Studio (*yinghouchong yingxiangti*) 螢火蟲映像體

Foreign Bride Chinese Literacy Programme (*waiji xinniang shi zi ban*) 外籍新娘識字班

Foreign brides (*waiji xinniang*) 外籍新娘

foreign laborers (*wailao*) 外勞

Formosa Incident (*meilidao shijian*) 美麗島事件

Formosa magazine (*meilidao*) 美麗島雜誌

Fukien Taiwanese (*minnan ren*) 閩南人

Full Shot Studio (*quanjing yingxiang gongzuoshi*) 全景映象工作室

Full Shot Studio documentary (*quanjing jilupian*) 全景紀錄片

FunScreen (*fangying*) e-Magazine 放映週報

go to the locals (*xia xiang* or *zai di*) 下鄉、在地

Golden Horse Award 金馬獎

grand-compromise (*da hejie*) 大和解

Green Team (*lüse xiaozu*) 綠色小組

Hakka Taiwanese (or Hakka; *kejiaren*) 客家人

Hakka 客家

Hakka's Viewpoint (*Keguan*) 《客觀》

humanity (*renwen*) 人文

image document (*yingxiang jiliu*) 影像紀錄

independent documentarians (*duli jilupian gongzuozhe*) 獨立紀錄片工作者

independent documentary (*duli jilupian*) 獨立紀錄片

Indigenous Peoples' News Magazine (*yuanjumin xinwen zazhi*) 原住民新聞雜誌

indigenous viewpoint (*yuanzhumin guandian*) 原住民觀點

individual documentary (*geren jilupian*) 個人紀錄片

individual production (*geren zhizuo*) 個人製作

integration of ethnic groups (*zuqun ronghe*) 族群融合

Ita Thaw 邵族

Jialong 嘉隆

JinMa Daily 金馬日報

juancun (village for military dependents) 眷村

Juchang (The Theatre) magazine 劇場雜誌

Kebalan 葛瑪蘭族

Liudui region 六堆地區

local culture and history investigators (*zaidi wenshi guongzuozhe*) 在地文史工作者

local history (*difangzhi*) 地方誌

local speaking up (*zaidi fasheng*) 在地發聲

localized (*zaidi*) 在地

Minnan 閩南

minority medium (*xiaozhong meiti*) 小眾媒體

modern form (*xiandai xingshi*) 現代形式

movement (*yundong*) 運動

Names Act (*Xingming Tiaoli*) 姓名條例

nanyi jilupian (TNCA documentary) 南藝紀錄片

national cinema (*guopian*) 國片

National Language Promotion Policy (*Tuixing Guoyu Zhengce*) 推行國語政策

nativism (*bentulun*) 本土論

nativism literature (*xiangtu wenxue*) 鄉土文學

new national cinema (*xin guopian*) 新國片

New News (*xin xinwen*) magazine 新新聞雜誌

New Taiwan (*Xin Taiwan*) 新臺灣

New Taiwan Cinema (*Taiwan xindianying*) 臺灣新電影

New Talk (*xin touke*) 新頭殼

newspaper limitation' regulations (*baojin*) 報禁

Non-commercial Award (*zhongshi feishangye yingzhan*) 中時非商業影展

Not Simply a Wedding Banquet protest 《不只是喜宴》抗議事件

Paiwan 排灣族

Pangcah (Amis) 阿美族

popular documentary (*minzhong jilupian*) 民眾紀錄片

Principle Law of Indigenous People (*yuanzhumin jibenfa*) 原住民基本法

process of practising (*shijian*) 實踐

PTS *Viewpoint* (*jilu guandian*) 公視紀錄觀點

public funeral (*dazhong zang*) 大眾葬

Publication Law (*chubanfa*) 出版法

Puyuma 卑南族

Qingnian Zhanshi Newspaper 青年戰士報

Ren Jian magazine 人間雜誌

Rong guang juan ying (the glories of veterans and the memories of *juancun*) 榮光眷影

Rukai 魯凱族

Sakizaya 撒奇拉雅族

Saysiyat 賽夏族

School (*xuepai*) 學派

Seediq 賽德克族

self-identity (*ziwo rentong*) 自我認同

social movement documentary (*sheyun jilupian*) 社運紀錄片

subjective of indigenous people (*yuanzhumin zhuti*) 原住民主體

Sweet Potato Scheme (*fanshu jihua*) 蕃薯計畫

Taiwan Xinsheng News 臺灣新生報

Taiwan Xinwen News 臺灣新聞報

Taiwan Zheng Lun 臺灣政論

Taiwanese (people) (*taiwan ren*) 臺灣人

Taiwanese dialect (*taiyu*) 臺語

Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples' Ethnographic Film (*Taiwan Yuanzhumin Minzuzhi Yingpian*) 臺灣原住民民族誌影片

Tao (Yami) 達悟族

Taroko 太魯閣族

Team of Beauty Taiwan (*mei tai tuan*) 美臺團

The Cultural Taiwan Image Studio (*wenhua Taiwan yingxiang*) 文化臺灣映象

The New Taiwan (*Xin Taiwan*) 新臺灣

The perspective of East Taiwan 1997 守望東臺灣 1997

The Policy of Battle Zone (*zhandizhengwu*) 戰地政務

the project Sweet Potato Scheme (*fanshu jihua*) 蕃薯計畫

The Third Image (*Disan Yingxiang*) 第三映象工作室

This Generation (*zheyidai*) 這一代

Tiguan 踢館

TNCA School (*nanyi xuepai*) 南藝學派

tradition of realism (*xieshijuyi chuantong*) 寫實主義傳統

Tsou 鄒族

underground video (*dixia lüyingdai*) 地下錄影帶

value of the humanity (*renwen jiazhi*) 人文價值

waisheng people 外省人

weak (*ruoshi*) 弱勢

When Papaya Milk Meets Pearl Tea (*dang yenai yuxiang zhennai*) 當椰奶遇上珍奶

Xiachao 夏潮

xian yin 限印

xian zhang 限張

xian zhao 限照

Zhonghua Daily 中華日報

Zhongyang Daily 中央日報

Appendix III: Chinese Names (People)

Annette Lu 呂秀蓮
Cai Chong-Long 蔡崇隆
Cai Chong-Long 蔡崇隆
Cai Zhong-Han 蔡中涵
Chang Shu-Lan 張淑蘭
Chen De-Ling 陳德齡
Chen Hong-Dai 陳弘岱
Chen Jia-Qi 陳佳琪
Chen Jun-Zhi (Mickey Chen) 陳俊志
Chen Liang-Feng 陳亮丰
Chen Ming-Xiu 陳明秀
Chen Qi-Nan 陳其南
Chen Shui-Bian 陳水扁
Chen Yao-Chi 陳耀圻
Chen Yia-Fang 陳雅芳
Chen Ying-Zhen 陳映真
Chen Ying-Zhen 陳映真
Deng Nan-Guang 鄧南光
Dong Zhen-Liang 董振良
Fu Dao 傅島
Gao Jin Su-Mei 高金素梅
Guan Xiao-Rong 關曉榮
Guo Liang-Wen 郭亮文
Guo Zhen-Di 郭珍弟
Han Xu-Er 韓旭爾
He Zhao-Ti 賀照緹
Hong Jing-Zhi 洪金枝
Hou Hsiao-Hsien 侯孝賢
Hou Ji-Ran 侯季然
Hsia Hsiao-Chuan 夏曉鵑
Hu Tai-Li 胡台麗
Huang Yu-Shan 黃玉珊
Jiang Guan-Ming 江冠明

Jiang Wei-Shui 蔣渭水
Ke Shu-Qing 柯淑卿
Kong Wen-Ji 孔文吉
Kuo Li-Hsin 郭力昕
Lee Daw-Ming 李道明
Lee Teng-Hui 李登輝
Lee Teng-Hui 李登輝
Li Ji 李疾
Li Meng-Zhe 李孟哲
Li San-Chong 李三沖
Li Zhong-Wang 李中旺
Lin Bao-Yuan 林寶元
Lin Cong-Yu 林琮昱
Lin Wen-Ling 林文玲
Lin Xiao-Xin 林孝信
Lin Yu-Xian 林育賢
Lin Zheng-Sheng 林正盛
Liu Jia-Yi 劉嘉益
Liu Na-Ou 劉吶鷗
Lu Feii 盧非易
Lu Xinyu 呂新雨
Luo Xing-Jie 羅興階
Peggy Hsiung-Ping Chiao 焦雄屏
Peng Chun-Fu 彭春夫
Peng Guang-Zhao 彭光照
Peng Qi-Yuan 彭啟原
Ray Jiing (Jing Ying-Rui) 井迎瑞
Tang Ying-Shen 湯英伸
Tao Fang-Fang 陶芳芳
Walisibeilin 瓦歷斯貝林
Wang Wei-Ci 王慰慈
Wang Zhi-Zhang 王智章
Wei Di 魏玓
Weng Ming-Zhi 翁明志
Wu Jia-Bao 吳嘉寶
Wu Xi-Ze 吳希哲
Wu Yi-Feng 吳乙峰
Xu Fu-Jin 許富進
Yadrung Lasa (Qiu Yia-Qing) 邱雅青

Yao Wen-Zhi 姚文智
You Hui-Zhen 游惠貞
You Qing 尤清
Yu Kan-Ping 虞勘平
Yu Kan-Ping 虞堪平
Zeng Wen-Zhen 曾文珍
Zhang Chang-Yan 張昌彥
Zhang Wen-Xiong 張文雄
Zhang Zhao-Tang 張照堂
Zhou Mei-Ling 周美玲
Zhou Tian-Rui 周天瑞
Zhuang Ling 莊靈

Appendix IV: Chinese Names (Organizations)

Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training (BEVT) 勞工委員會職業訓練局

Central Motion Pictures Corporation (CMPC; *Zhongyang dianying gongsi*) 中央電影公司

China Film Studio (CFS; *Zhongguo dianying zhipianchang*) 中國電影製片廠

Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP) 行政院原住民族委員會

Council of Labour Affairs (CLA) 行政院勞工委員會

Democracy Progressive Party (DPP) 民主進步黨（民進黨）

Executive Yuan 行政院

Executive Yuan 行政院

Formosa Television 全民電視臺

Government Information Office (*xinwenju;* GIO) 新聞局

Graduate Institute of Sound and Image Studies in Documentary 音像紀錄研究所

Graduate School of Applied Media Arts at the National Taiwan University of the Arts 國立臺灣藝術大學應用媒體研究所

Hakka Affairs Council (HAC) 行政院客家委員會

Hakka Television Station (HTS) 客家電視臺

Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation (IPCF) 原住民族文化事業基金會

Kuomintang (KMT) 中國國民黨

Legislative Yuan 立法院

Ministry of Culture 文化部

National Association Promotion the Community Universities (NAPCU) 社區大學全國促進會

National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF) 國家文化藝術基金會

National Immigration Agency (NIA) 內政部入出國及移民署

New Party 新黨

Public Television Service (PTS) 公共電視臺

Public Television Unit (PTU; the former Public Television Service) 公共電視製播小組

Tainan National University of the Arts 國立臺南藝術學院

Taiwan Broadcasting System (TBS) 臺灣公共廣播電視集團

Taiwan Film Enterprise (*Taiwan dianying gongsi*) 臺灣電影公司

Taiwan Film Studio (TFS; *Taiwan dianying zhipianchang*) 臺灣電影製片廠

Taiwan Indigenous Television Station (TITV) 原住民族電視臺

Taiwan Public Party (*Taiwan minzhong dong*) 臺灣大眾黨

Taiwan Television Enterprise 臺灣電視公司

Taiwanese Culture Association (*Taiwan wenhua xiehui*) 臺灣文化協會

The Agricultural Education Motion Picture Corporation (*Nongye jiaoyu dianying gongsi*) 農業教育電影公司

The Cultural Foundation of the United Daily News Group (CFUDN) 聯合報系文化基金會

The Foundation of Ethnic Harmony (FEH) 族群和諧基金會

The Taiwan International Workers Association (TIWA) 臺灣國際勞工協會

Trans-Asia Sisterhood Association Taiwan (TASAT) 南洋姐妹會

Veterans Affairs Commission (VAC) 行政院退除役官兵輔導委員會

Waisheng-Taiwanese Association (*waisheng Taiwan ren xiehui*) (WTA) 外省臺灣人協會

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Title (English / Chinese) / Chinese Title in Pinyin / Year of Release / Filmmaker

03:04 三點零四分/ *San Dian Ling Si Fen* / 1999 / Huang Ting-Fu 黃庭輔

1997 the Diary of Flying Fish Season of Yami 1997 雅美飛魚生活記事 / 1997 / *Yamei Feiyuji Shenghuojishi* / Huang Qi-Mao 黃祈貿

4:06 四點零六分/ *Si Dian Ling Liu Fen* / 1996 / Wu Yao-Dong 吳耀東

A Changing Taiwan 蛻變中的臺灣 / *Tuibian Zhong de Taiwan* / 1990

A Slowly Swim Seahorse 海馬慢慢游 / *Haima Manmanyou* / 2005 /
Wu Xiao-Ju 吳小柱, Xu Hui-Fen 徐惠芬

A Vigorous Family 神氣家族 / *Shenqijiazu* / 2005 / Lin Xiao-Xuan 林曉宣

After Morakot 走了一個莫拉克之後 / Zou le Yige Morakot Zhihou / 2012 /
Cai Yi-Feng 蔡一峰

After the Champion 冠軍之後 / *Guanjun Zhihou* / 2000 / Zeng Wen-Zhen 曾文珍

Against DUPONT in Liugang 鹿港反杜邦 / *Liugang Fan Dubong* / 1986 /
Green Team 綠色小組

Against the Devil 面對惡靈 / *Miandui Eling* / 2001 / Chang Shu-Lan 張淑蘭

Alienator 異鄉人 / *Yi Xiang Ren* / 2005 / Xu Zhen-Feng 徐振峰

Among the Woods and Grass 人在草木間 / Ren zai Caomu Jian / 2012 /
Wu Ping-Hai 吳平海

BaBa's Recovery in Jianlan 嘉蘭八八重建 / Jianlan Baba Chongjian / 2012 /
Li Shan-Chong 李三沖

Ballet 芭蕾舞 / *Ba1ei Wu* / 1935-1941 / Deng Nan-Guan 鄧南光

Bamboo Pole Firework 竹竿炮 / *Jugan Pao* / 2007 / Wang Wen-Rei 王文瑞

Bayin 八音 / 2005 / Wu Ping-Hai 吳平海, Xu Zhen-Feng 徐振峰

Before the Radiation 幅射將至 / *Fushe Jiang Zhi* / 1999 /Zhou Mei-Ling 周美玲

Benji Lake, Cross Road 畚箕湖十字路 / *Benjihu, Shizilu* / 2010 /
Wu Ping-Hai 吳平海

Beyond the Arctic 征服北極 / *Zhengfu Beiji* / 2008 / Yang Li-Zhou 楊力州

Big Trouble--- Whether the relatives come or not? 代誌大條---番親有來沒？/ *Daizhidatiao--- Fanqin Yao Lai Mei* / 2001 / Bauki Angaw 木枝籠爻

Boys for Beauty 美麗少年 / *Meili Shaonian* / 1998 / Chen Jun-Zhi 陳俊志

Burning Dreams 歌舞中國 / *Ge Wu Zhongguo* / 2003 / Peng Wen-Chun 彭文淳

Chen Tian-Shui 陳添水 / *Chen Tian-Shui* / 1990 / Full Shot Studio 全景映象工作室

Child Only, No Nuclear 只要孩子不要核子 / *Zhiyao Haizi Buyao Hezi* / 1988 / Green Team 綠色小組

Chronicle of the Sea: Nan-Fang-Ao 南方澳海洋記事 / *Nan-Fang-Ao Haiyang Jishi* / 2004 / Li Xian-Xiao 李香秀

Coolie Artist 苦力藝術家/ *Kuli Yishujia* / 1999 / Chen Yi-Jun 陳怡君, Lin Zhi-Zhan 林稚霑, Ji Wen-Zhang 紀文章

Corner's 私角落 / *Si Jaoluo* / 2002 / Zhou Mei-Ling 周美玲

Countryside, Religious, Zhentou, Dialouge 農村宗教陣頭對話/ *Nongcun Zongjiao Zhentou Duihua* / 1999 / Xu Bo-Xin 許伯鑫, Zeng Ji-Xian 曾吉賢

Danshui River 淡水河 / *Danshui He* / 1935-1941 / Deng Nan-Guan 鄧南光

Dear Rice Wine, You Are Surrendered by Me 親愛的小米酒，妳被我打敗了/ *Qingai de Xiaomijiou, Ni bei Wo Dabai le* / 1998 / Mayaw Biho 馬躍比吼

Deputy Stationmaster's White Ring 副站長的白色交接環 / *Fu Zhan Zhang de Bai Se Jiao Jie Huan* / 2005 / Hung Dong-Rong 洪東榕, Lin Xiao-Xuan 林曉宣

Down the River 放流 / *Fang Liu* / 2003 / Wu Yao-Dong 吳耀東

Drop Me a Cat 給我一隻貓 / *Gei Wo Yi Zhi Mao* / 2002 / Wu Mi-Sen 吳米森

DVD for Younger Sister / 2009 / Anie

Each Person, Nine Square Meters for Sixty Years 一人三坪六十年 / *Yi Ren San Ping Liu Shi Nian* / 2008 / Wang Mei-Zhen 王美珍

Every Odd Numbered Day 單打雙不打 / *Dandashuangbuda* / 1994 / Dong Zhen-Liang 董振良

Exit No.6 六號出口 / *Liu Hao Chu Kou* / 2007 / Lin Yu-Xian 林育賢

Family Portraits 家族照 / *Jiazu Zhao* / 1935-1941 / Deng Nan-Guan 鄧南光

Fan Ze-Kai 范澤開 / *Fan Ze-Kai* / 1990 / Full Shot Studio 全景映象工作室

Farewell 1999 再會吧 1999 / *Zaihui ba 1999* / 2004 /
Wu Tai-Ren (Wu Jing-Yi; Wu Wuna) 吳汰紝

Finding Back the Name 把名字找回來 / *Ba Mingzi Zhao Huilai* / 2004 /
Mayaw Biho 馬躍比吼

Firefighter A-Feng 打火阿峰 / *Da Huo A-Feng* / 1997 / Yang Li-Zhou 楊力州

Fishing Luck 等待飛魚/ *Dengdai Feiyu* / 2005 / Zeng Wen-Zhen 曾文珍

Flight Maker 造機人 / Zao Ji Ren / 2003 / Wang Yen-Ni 王燕妮

Floating Islands 流離島影 / *Liuli Daoying* / 1999 / Firefly Studio 螢火蟲映象體

Floating Woman 漂浪之女 / *Piaolang zhi Nü* / 2002 / Yang Li-Zhou 楊力州

Foreign Wives in Meinong 外籍新娘在美濃 / *Waiji Xinniang zai Meinong* / 2003 /
Lin Xiao-Fang 林攸芳

Forward Forest Dream 林林之夢 / *Senlin zhi Meng* / 2000 / Li Jing-Hui 李靖惠

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